1: Lattimore AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
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[For a discussion of the cultural, ethnic and political differences among the several nationalities in Sinkiang, see Category 116, pp. 107-151.]

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It is probable that this classification, the vehicle of which appeared 829 to be a policy more liberal than any previous Chinese policy toward minorities, represented an attempt at cautious partial 114 imitation of the Soviet minority policy. The imitation, however, 563 ● did not go very far. Sheng Shih-ts'ai, as his subsequent 662 history shows, was by no means a slavish follower of the Soviet Union or its ideas. The sole emphasis in his program was on promoting the culture of the minority peoples, a policy which permitted cultural autonomy but carefully stopped short of territorial or political autonomy. Indeed it would appear, especially in view of Sheng's administrative gerrymandering of the province, that his purpose was to manipulate the national classifications which he recognized in such a way as to strengthen the dominant position of the Chinese minority in the province. General Sheng's classification was in fact influenced by political criteria which if not precisely scientific are at least as old as the earliest empire.

The program promoted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai was in large measure 563* taken over by Chang Chih-chung when he in turn became head of the province. Like his predecessor, Chang was most active 829 in stressing the cultural differences among the fourteen peoples 185 of Sinkiang. Unlike the extreme authoritarians of the C.C. Clique, he appeared to concede that the different peoples of Sinkiang, rather than such administrative units as the counties, should provide the basis of self-rule. "The administration of Sinkiang," he says, "should be entrusted to the various racial groups and should function under the guidance of the many national leaders of the province." [11] This formula, however, glosses over the fact that the administrative divisions of Sinkiang do not coincide with the distribution of "the various racial groups." Further limitations on the right of self-rule are indicated by the following:

> The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the

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[11] Chang Chih-chung, "Dilemma in Sinkiang," *Pacific Affairs*, XX, New York, 1947, p. 426.

233 camp and move just for the sake of happy vagabondage. If the drives are too long or have to be made over unfavorable intervening country, the animals lose condition or go lame; and lame cattle cannot graze well. Therefore every shift of camp is an equation which has to be worked out in such a way that the benefit of the fresh pasture is greater than the damage done by moving. Moreover there are often times when it is preferable or even compulsory to graze some kinds of stock at a distance from others.

233 Pastoral nomadism always has a fringe of farming, which may
241 be either rainfall farming or irrigated farming. In past history, at times when the power of the nomads was ascendant, these margins were cultivated for the benefit of the nomads by subject, tributary, or hired people drawn from settled communities. Recently, when the authority of a settled state has been paramount in Sinkiang, as in similar periods in the past, two processes developed. On the one hand, poorer nomads took to agriculture. Some of them became permanent farmers, breaking away from their ties with the nomadic community and no longer submitting to its authority. Others spend part of the year growing hay and grain for richer members of their clan or tribe. On the other hand, the authority of the settled state deliberately pushes colonization by cultivators out into nomad territory, sometimes for strategic reasons and sometimes merely for profit.

168 When the Manchus overthrew the Jungar Mongols late in the
● 563 eighteenth century, they used farming colonists to displace no-
241 mads. Colonization continued under the Chinese Republic and is still continuing. It is economically profitable to the Chinese authorities to expropriate land from nomads and sell it to colonists, and it has been considered politically profitable when it results in quarrels between Uighur colonists and Kazakh and Mongol nomads. Chinese refugee colonists have also been brought in from Honan, in central North China; to make room for some of these, machine guns mounted on trucks were used to exterminate Kazakh camps. (Personal information from American observer.)

600 There is also some voluntary development of agriculture by

648 everywhere in Inner Asia the Soviet frontier is in one sense artificial: because it originated in the Tsarist conquests, and stops where the Tsarist conquests stopped, it everywhere divides similar peoples from each other instead of separating different peoples from each other, as has been pointed out in previous chapters. The same languages are spoken on both sides of the Soviet-Turkish, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Afghan, and Soviet-Sinkiang frontiers. And, in most cases, they are spoken by people who are minorities under both the sovereignties under which they live. The effects in Inner Asia of the Soviet Revolution must therefore be studied especially from the standpoint of peoples who are minorities in the states under which they live, and who talk in the same language and against the background of a common cultural and social tradition about the different conditions under which they live on the two sides of the frontier that divides them. Five principal phases, which followed each other in chronological order, can be distinguished among the long-term effects of the Soviet Revolution.

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1. As the possessors of advanced skills, refugees from the Soviet Revolution became an elite in Sinkiang. Among the Russians, especially, there were doctors, geologists, and other scientists; engineers, mechanics, and many artisans. Among the Uzbeks, Tatars, and others there were also many whose literacy, skill, and experience in trade — or proficiency as carpenters, builders, leather tanners, or metalworkers — put them above the average level prevailing in Sinkiang. Having escaped from the disorder and insecurity of revolution, they now found that the country to which they had come was culturally and politically even more backward than the one from which they had escaped. They learned that if the superior skills which gave them the qualities of an elite were not enough to make them a political elite, and frequently not enough even to assure them economic security, it was because of the backwardness ~~of~~ the society in which they had settled, and the corruption or incompetence of the officials to whom they now had to defer.

000 2. Having fled because there was no force in Russian Inner

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Asia capable of resisting the Revolution, the refugees now found 563 that there was no adjoining state capable of intervening successfully against the Revolution. As the years of the interwar period went by, they found that in Sinkiang and in every other territory in Asia adjoining their old homes there was not a single anti-Russian government that was able to build up political and military strength as fast as the new Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, or to open up educational and employment opportunities as fast. In their old homes, there was still suffering, and often persecution of those who had belonged to the old order of politics and society; but this was the suffering of revolutionary dislocation, and the same dislocation also offered new careers for those who were willing to work hard and those who were able to profit by education. In their new homes, however, there was also suffering: the suffering of old and stagnant societies, in which opportunities were decreasing, rather than increasing. Even the rich man might suddenly be impoverished if he fell foul of a corrupt official; and there was a steady production of landless peasants in the rural districts and beggars in the towns.

3. In the atmosphere of rapid change and spreading insecurity 648 after the second World War, both the refugees and the peoples among whom they live have begun to fear the Soviet Republics of Inner Asia, and the Russia standing behind them, more in some ways but less in other ways. They fear them more, as the source of a power that may reach out and take over the adjoining territories or parts of them. They fear them less, because in comparison with most of the adjoining territories, such as Sinkiang itself, Afghanistan, and Iran, and even to some extent Turkey, they have become a focus of stability and of that "law and order" which all stabilizing empires proclaim. The Soviet Republics do not offer security for the investments of the rich, but they do offer a new kind of security, never known before in the "back blocks" of Asia — in a multiplying number of careers, especially for the young and especially for those who pass through universities and technical training schools of all kinds.

4. A cycle has, in fact, been completed. The old Russia was

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feared that this technique was being turned against them when 175
they were warned that, because of Russian Communism, they
must not seek friendly relations with Russia even in face of the 648
rapidly increasing encroachment of Japan. 669

In addition to leftists and liberals, Sheng Shih-ts'ai also enlisted Chinese Communists. These were not concealed Communists; Sheng invited them to enter his service, and employed them deliberately for the sake of their techniques of popular organization, and also as economic and financial experts, feeling sure that he could take the upper hand over them whenever he felt it necessary to do so. When, in his opinion, Russia at the time of Stalingrad had become so weak that he thought it prudent to come to terms with the Kuomintang, he arrested both his Communist and his liberal assistants and tortured and killed many of them, including a brother of Mao Tze-tung. Only at the end of the war with Japan were a few of them released from jail and allowed to go to Yenan.[17]

The men of whom Sheng Shih-ts'ai made use brought with 175
them into Sinkiang the thought, the emotion, the methods of or-
ganization and some of the factionalism that had been develop- 648
ing in revolutionary China for more than twenty years. Their 563 ●
scope of action, however, did not lie within a Chinese environ- 186
ment. Whether they turned to the problem of strengthening the state or to the problem of reforming society, they found themselves part of a Chinese minority surrounded by peoples of several nationalities, all of them differing from the Chinese, and from each other, in their responses to social and political issues.

In this situation theories of nationalism and the policies based on them became of more and more importance in determining all political alignments. Among the Chinese, at one end of the scale stood those who considered that they must maintain themselves as the ruling people, treating the non-Chinese as subjects. Next to them stood Chinese who, in contrast, considered themselves

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[17] For the foregoing information I am indebted to unpublished notes by Miss Anna Louise Strong of her interviews in Yenan with some of these surviving Communists.

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175 generous and progressive because they believed that non-Chinese
should acquire equal status, as individuals, as fast as they could
648 acquire the Chinese language and assimilate themselves to the
563 Chinese culturally; but this attitude was not accepted as "progressive" by non-Chinese who had their own loyalties to their
186 own languages and cultures. At the other end of the scale stood Chinese who believed in conceding full citizenship to all non-Chinese, combined with independence — including independence in education — in the use of non-Chinese languages, and local self-government based on recognition of the language community rather than on the territorial unit; but while these Chinese were considered liberal and progressive by the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and others, they were considered dangerously radical and disruptive by other Chinese.

Among non-Chinese, the appeal to nationalism also evoked many responses. There were individuals whose hereditary position or political privileges were so closely associated with Chinese rule that they hesitated to approve any change. There were others who wanted, as individuals, to rise to positions formerly held only by Chinese, but did not want to change the structure of government and administration in any other way. There were Uighurs who considered that the Uighurs, as the most numerous nationality, constituting an absolute majority, should take over the province and should have the same rights over minorities that the Chinese had formerly had over all Sinkiang. There were Kazakhs, Mongols, and others who wanted to be as independent of the Uighurs as of the Chinese. And, finally, there were radical nationalists who wanted to change the social order as well as the political structure: to unseat their own Begs, Sultans, and Princes as well as to govern themselves without the Chinese District Magistrates.

All of these groups and tendencies worked out their relationship to each other in a pattern of constantly changing coalitions. In the politics of reform and revolution, coalitions are the characteristic phenomena. They are formed by groups which have interests in common to defend or to assert and which, in forming

the coalition, emphasize convergent interests and avoid emphasis 175
on divergent interests. The coalition breaks up when one of its
component groups has secured the interest that it thinks most 648
essential, and is unwilling to risk this gain by pushing ahead in 563 •
support of interests more essential to other groups. New coali- 186
tions then form, grouped on the one hand around those who wish to stabilize the situation and on the other hand around those who still have unsatisfied interests to assert.

Sheng Shih-ts'ai, in the first phase of his rule, achieved considerable success by building around himself a left-of-center coalition of progressive, radical, and Communist Chinese — together with non-Chinese leaders, to whom he granted more freedom of political action than had ever been granted by any previous Chinese Governor. In the second phase of his rule he tried, and eventually failed, to build a new right-of-center coalition by combining representatives of the Kuomintang, freshly sent in from China, with those of his own followers whom he considered personally loyal to himself rather than to political principles.

After the fall of Sheng and the end of the war with Japan, 175
different factions of the Kuomintang, frequently weakened by
purely factional quarrels with each other, formed a series of un- 662
steady coalitions in which they enlisted representatives of the most conservative interests among the non-Chinese, especially the Uighurs and Kazakhs. These Chinese-controlled coalitions were opposed by the Kulja coalition in the Ili Valley and western Jungaria, which rested on leftist and pro-Communist groups among the non-Chinese nationalities, but at the same time sought to maintain contact with moderate representatives, such as Chang Chih-chung, within the right-wing coalition which dominated most of the Tarim Basin and eastern Jungaria.

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Communists, and the Russian Frontier

In coalition politics of this kind the shifts of allegiance of Osman Bator, the freebooting Kazakh leader, who has been fre-

175 quently interviewed by American correspondents, were typical.
First, as a military leader with an independent following, he
662 sought to take advantage of Chinese military weakness by joining the Ili coalition. Later, failing to dominate the Ili coalition, he went over to the Chinese side, where by this time his price had risen because popular sympathy was turning away from the conservative Uighur and other leaders who had accepted Chinese protection.

During this phase of Sinkiang politics the Ili coalition, holding territory along the Soviet frontier, received aid and comfort from Soviet Kazakhstan. The coalition of Kuomintang officials and generals, conservative Uighur figureheads supported by the Kuomintang, and Kazakh auxiliaries received subsidies and American arms from the American-supported government at Nanking. This phase ended when the advances of the Chinese Communist armies across the Yangtze cut off the Kuomintang outposts in Sinkiang from any hope of support from within China.

175 An entirely new situation was thus created. Ever since the Rus-
sian Revolution, the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang had stood
563 between a government controlled by Russian Communists on the
648 one side and a government controlled by non-Communist or anti-Communist Chinese on the other side. They now stand between a government controlled by Russian Communists and a government dominated by Chinese Communists.

In this new situation the aims of the Russian Communists and the Chinese Communists, as Marxists, are generally the same; but the domestic interests of the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union are not necessarily identical. In the Soviet Union the Russians are the dominant people; but there are vast territories inhabited by many millions of people who are not Russians. In the Chinese Republic the Chinese people are the overwhelming majority; they dominate China much more decisively than the Russians dominate the Soviet Union; but in the Chinese Republic also there are vast territories inhabited by peoples who are not Chinese. The geographical center of gravity of the non-Chinese territories of China lies in Sinkiang. The frontiers of Sinkiang

touch the Inner Asian Soviet Republics, the most important block 175
of territory in the Soviet Union inhabited by peoples who are 563
not Russians and not Slavs.

This situation gives a new aspect to old problems and cre- 648
ates new problems of its own. There is the question whether, in the Soviet Union, the interests of the Russians are to override the interests of the other peoples, and the question whether, in the Chinese Republic, the interests of the Chinese are to override those of all others. These are old problems, the development of which has long been watched warily by the neighbors of Russia and China. In addition, there is now the new problem of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China: are the interests of the Soviet Union, as a state, to be made paramount over those of China, as a state?

If statesmen were efficiency engineers, and no more than that, 000
a very good case could be made for annexing parts of Sinkiang to the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik Republics of the Soviet Union, and for setting up most of the Tarim Basin as an Uighur Republic, also to be annexed to the Soviet Union. In terms of the affinities of peoples, languages, and cultures, geographical accessibility, the most economical laying-out of modern communications, and the rapid promotion of material progress, the natural orientation of Sinkiang is toward Mongolia and the Soviet Union, rather than toward China. On the other hand, however, the material and sentimental interests of China in Sinkiang, though they have been much abused, are real; and so are the interests of Sinkiang in its connection with China, if this connection is wisely handled.

The probability is that the Chinese Communists will, as Chinese, renounce no sovereignty in lands long claimed as Chinese. At the same time, it is to be expected that they will attempt to apply new policies — not only to Sinkiang, but to Inner Mongolia, to the districts in which Chinese Moslems predominate in Ninghsia and Kansu, and to such parts of Tibet as they can penetrate. It is to be expected that, as Marxists, they will model these policies on those of the Russians in Soviet Asia. The Sinkiang of

Uighur

VI

RACIAL EQUALITY

THOUGH ESTIMATES of the Sinkiang population have run from as low as one to as high as six million, since the present Sheng Shih-ts'ai administration came to power the local people speak of their population as "four million persons." The great majority of these "four million" appear to be a combination of so-called Turkic-Tatar and "Alpine" racial stocks. The remainder are divided between a "ruling" group of so-called "Han" Chinese, a group of "Tung-kan" or Moslem Chinese, and groups of other minorities which include Manchus, Mongols, Kirgiz, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Russians. 562

So far as Occidentals are concerned, "Racial Equality" in Sinkiang 563 might, in general, mean justice and equal opportunity for and between these little known ethnic groups. So far as Sinkiang herself is concerned, however, it would seem to mean mainly a military, political, economic, and social readjustment between a minority of "Han" Chinese overlords and a majority of Chinese subject peoples. The "Han" overlords of Sinkiang, it turns out, are the "Chinese" with whom the Occident has normally been acquainted; under their rule in times past the natives of Sinkiang were not given their full measure of freedom and equality. The fact that old-style Chinese rule has been in recent years confronted with the neighboring system of Soviet Russian cultural autonomy, has in the main forced the need for change.

The Moslem Wei-wu-erh

Most of the Turkic-"Alpine" ethnic groups in the province speak a relatively pure Eastern Turki tongue and believe in Mohammedanism. This majority, whom Chinese from farther east have given a name which may have a rather derogatory meaning—*Ch'an-t'ou* (Chanto or "Turban Head")—are to be found almost everywhere and yet each local group has in a way been able to retain or to develop some claim to distinctiveness. Thus there is a tendency to call the people of Kashgar "Kashgarliq;" those of Turfan, "Turfanliq," those of Korla (K'u-erh-

563 lo), "Kuerhliq," those of Ha-mi (Qomul), "Qomuliq," and on and on.
There has also, however, been a countertendency to associate these
exceptionally localized Turkic and "Alpine" ethnic types as a whole
with the Uighur race that flourished anciently in the Sinkiang area.
Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to power in Sinkiang, these *Ch'an Hui*
(or Chanto) have been given the name of *Wei-wu-erh,* a Chinese transliteration
of "Uighur."

144 It is not clear precisely what the earliest racial stock inhabiting the
Western Regions, or present-day Sinkiang, was. Investigation has disclosed
the existence of relatively ancient independent peoples in the
Altai region, perhaps as early as the third century B.C., and one pioneer
student of the subject has described their history as being "mysteriously
wrapped up" in that of the Uighurs "from the far south of Mongolia.
. . ." The Uighurs are supposed to have been a light-haired and
blue-eyed people and in them, it is insisted, is to be found the "origin
of the Turkish race who, later on, overflowed all Central Asia and
made an Empire on the shore of the Bosphorus."

771 Some of these Uighur peoples of Sinkiang seem at one time to have
175 believed in Manichaeism—the doctrines of the Persian, Manes—but
they were willing to try their religious luck elsewhere. They became
in turn Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and finally and most permanently,
Moslems. In the eighth century—when almost simultaneous
Tibetan and Arab attacks had forced the Chinese armies of Kao Hsienchih
to fall back in retreat from Turkestan and when the Arab forces
were advancing successfully under Qutaiba to the edge of the Pamirs—
175 the Uighurs gradually turned to Islam. As the T'ang Dynasty's military
815 standing declined in Turkestan, its nominal subjects—the Uighurs—
began to carry on for it the burden of colonial rule. The Uighur prestige
grew so swiftly that, before the tenth century was well under way,
they wielded the balance of power in Turkestan from their capital at
Bishbalik, near the site of the present Sinkiang capital, Tihwa. During
this period they served almost as an overland bridge for the introduction
of Mohammedan culture into China. The Uighurs themselves derived
considerable cultural benefit from their newly gained strategic
position; and their language, Turki, was established permanently in

Today at last Han Chinese appear destined to settle on the land in 167 Sinkiang. If successful this should be a substantial gain to the province and should give their colonization more permanence than that of previous days. Yet, the question of what land is being allotted to these Han Chinese will merit most careful handling. For allocation of native soil to "outlanders" has long been a touchy subject in Sinkiang.

The Tung-kan: Chinese Moslems

Among the Han Chinese of Sinkiang there are a large number who 101 adhere to the Mohammedan faith and yet are distinct from the other 563 Moslems of the province. These *Han Hui* ("Han Moslems") are also known as *Tung-kan Hui* or often just as *Tung-kan* (Dungan). The name, Tung-kan, has been explained in many ways. Chiang Chün-chang says it is of Russian origin and means "Mohammedan Offenders of the East" or "Offenders of the East." Another variation, *Kan Hui,* according to Chiang, means "Mohammedans of Kansu" and indicates that many of the Tung-kan hail from there. Probably the Tung-kan are offspring of Central Asians who wandered into Kansu and married Chinese women. Owen Lattimore concludes that, in a kind of reverse migration, they were sent back into Chinese Turkestan during Manchu Dynasty times in order to offset Mongol influence. They are quite distinct from the "head-binding," or turbaned, Wei-wu-erh; the two groups have often opposed each other violently, and before China's resistance to Japan it was said that they had in common only their religion.

One finds the Tung-kans not only in Sinkiang but throughout the Chinese Northwest, particularly in Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, and Ch'ing-hai. As a racial group they are said to be of greater virility than the regular Han Chinese; they are of a fine, sturdy stock and are particularly noted for their soldiery. They are also devoted Moslems. The most usual surname among them is Ma, the Chinese character for horse, which may represent a Chinese attempt at transliterating the sound "Mohammed." The saying that *Wu Ma,* "Five Ma," rule the Chinese Northwest, shows how strong the power of the Tung-kans has been in modern China.

Manchu

563 167 Many of the Tung-kans have traditionally settled in Ha-mi, Karashahr, Sui-ting and Tihwa. It was Moslems from Ha-mi, near the Kansu border, who summoned the Tung-kan leader Ma Chung-ying from Kansu to lead the revolt of the early 1930's (see pp. 40-5). As a consequence of the civil war Tung-kans are now scattered almost throughout South Sinkiang. In 1935 when they gave up Kashgar they were assigned their own "domain" at Khotan, which they had previously fortified and made the focus for their abortive Mohammedan state. Some of them may even still be under arms. Recent news concerning the Tung-kan armies of Central Asia has not always been freely available, but reports have said they have been strongest in the outlying towns of Southern Sinkiang—Posgam, Karghalik, Guma, Khotan, Chira, Keriya, Cherchen, and Charklik. The 1942 appointment of Ma Pu-ch'ing, famous Tung-kan leader of Shensi and Kansu, as Pacification Commissioner of the Tsaidam Marches of Western Ch'inghai, is of interest in this connection. For the attitude, belligerent or otherwise, of the Chinese Tung-kans of neighboring provinces carries great weight among their kinsmen in Sinkiang.

Manchus and Manchurians

Manchus came to greatest prominence in Sinkiang during the expansionist periods of the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty of China. K'ang Hsi (1662-1722) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) sent thousands of Manchu "Bannermen" to fortify the Turkestan frontier. Thus Sinkiang was garrisoned at one and the same time against Imperialist Russian aggression and against uprisings of the Tung-kans.

These Manchus at one time were scattered throughout the larger cities of Sinkiang but today they appear to have been mostly assimilated into Han Chinese ways of living. Two of the most notable exceptions have been the Sibo and Solon peoples in the Sui-ting and the T'a Ch'eng areas. The Sibos *(Hsi-po)* and the Solons *(So-lun),* though from Manchuria, actually are of Tungusic origin, only indirectly of Manchu stock and distinct from the other Bannermen who for the most part made up the Manchu military organizations sent into Sinkiang. Most of the Bannermen gradually lost their identity because they

had not held land or engaged in trade in Sinkiang, but not so the 563
Solons and the Sibos. They settled on the land and colonized in a 167
resolute way.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 has brought many Manchurians into Sinkiang as refugees. These took a prominent place immediately in the life of the New Sinkiang, and they have constituted a considerable numerical addition to those already in the province.

Since Sheng Shih-ts'ai is a Manchurian, his administration has offered this people another unique role in Sinkiang, comparable to that of the Bannermen of previous days. Sheng and those of his blood, for one thing, can serve as "middlemen" between the Han Chinese from other provinces and the Wei-wu-erh. For another, by helping in the reconstruction of Sinkiang they can be preparing a formidable supply base in the "rear" by which their Manchurian homeland may ultimately be liberated from Japan.

The Mongols

Genghis Khan's Mongols, who in the thirteenth century subjugated [162]
Chinese Turkestan and long were dominant there, now amount to 563
only about five per cent of the Sinkiang inhabitants. Picturesque in their role as nomadic horsemen, but not so picturesque in their susceptibilities to drink, the Mongols of Sinkiang constitute one of the great ethnological curiosities of the world. They have a great past to look back to; yet how they have changed! They once possessed the vigor and strength to sweep across all Asia in conquest and even to terrify Europe; they set up vast kingdoms and in the heyday of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Court at Peking was liberal and cultured, a great patron of the arts. But for four hundred years the Mongols have been under the religious whip of the Lamaist church, and only now in the twentieth century are they gradually rebelling, under the spur of ideas introduced from Soviet Russia.

A fascinating figure they cut as they swagger about in long vari- [291]
colored gowns, large over-sized knee-boots, and broad-brimmed and
cone-topped hats. They are persistent drinkers, and can have a rousingly [273]
good time on almost anything intoxicating from *arak* or Russian vodka
to a rare imported brandy.

563 to a rare imported brandy. The rough, unkempt Kalmuck Mongols of the Tekes Valley of North Sinkiang are especially devil-may-care fellows; but they have, at times, got amazingly rich from their countless horses and sheep.

175 A vast sweep of nomad devastation, which won them the throne of China and carried their warfare as far west as the Danube, brought the Mongols to Chinese Turkestan. What is now both Chinese and Russian Turkestan, once those areas were subjugated, came under Jagatai, second son of Genghis Khan, and he and his successors remained in power for almost two centuries. But in 1368 the Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty in China was overthrown by the House of Ming and soon afterwards Turkestan also seceded from Mongol rule. Thus temporarily the Mongol star seemed to have set, and differences between the peoples of Mongolia proper and those in the Altai area (the Western Mongols) set in.

563 [103] One of the subordinate leagues of the Western Mongols, the Ölöts (Eleuths), soon came into military prominence in Turkestan under a Khan by the name of Galdan. Galdan's nephew, Rabdan, gave the name of his branch of the Ölöts—the Jön Gar (Jungars, sometimes written Dzungars, Zungars)—to the kingdom when he succeeded to the Mongol possessions. The name has since stuck in geographies as Jungaria (Dzungaria or Zungaria), and it has reference to the part of Sinkiang which lies between the T'ien Shan and the Altai, i.e., North Sinkiang. These same Ölöts took advantage of political differences to the south of them and came to dominate South Sinkiang, Ch'inghai, and Tibet for a brief historical period; this epoch has even been viewed by one Chinese historian as a "Golden Age" for the Western Regions. Yet the fount of Ölöt power, for the Ölöts as for others of the Western Mongols, was Jungaria and the steppes, not the oases of South Sinkiang, where Uighur (present Wei-wu-erh) civilization appears to have persisted. For Mongol life has been the phenomenon of nomadism, and life in South Sinkiang has been that of the isolated, petty agriculture of the oasis. The power of the nomad is his mobility, and he requires extensive pasturage for his cattle; yet the life of oasis agriculture is essentially fixed and in South Sinkiang it seems to have continued with

Mongol

563 little change despite the death and flux all around it. It has been demonstrated that the Mongols only ruled South Sinkiang, and did not occupy it as they did the territory between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. The contrast in living conditions of the Mongol nomad and the Wei-wu-erh man of the land is even today one of the noticeable differences between life in North and South Sinkiang.

Today the Mongols are mainly represented in Sinkiang by the Unen Susuktu, the Bato Setkhiltu, and the Ching Setkhiltu Leagues. The Unen Susuktu League, composed of Old Torgot Mongols, is numerically the most important of these three. Its representatives are to be found around Ching-ho and Wu-su in North Sinkiang and Karashahr on the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan. The Bato Setkhiltu League, modern representative of the Hoshots, also is located around Karashahr (Yen-ch'i). The New Torgot, New Hoshot, and Orianggai Mongols of the Ching Setkhiltu League are to be found in the Altai region, especially in the vicinity of Pu-erh-ching. In addition there are two groups of Ch'ahar Mongols in the Borotala Valley between Tihwa and I-ning, and a concentration of Olöt (Eleuth) Mongols in the I-li Valley, many of whom are also known as Kalmucks.

Mutton, *kumiss,* and cheese are what mainly fill the Mongol larder. 262
But, for the fastidious, that cheese would present a terrific trial, so filled 302
is it with hair and sundry other debris. Nomad that he is, the Mongol 792
lives in a felt tent, called a *yurt,* and his wealthy neighbor has great numbers of these—curious, collapsible, uncomely habitations. If devout, he dedicates one or more of his sons to the Lamaist priesthood, where celibacy is supposedly required. In accordance with this tradition, entrance to the Kalmuck monastery is usually forbidden to women; but on certain rare religious festivals each year women are said to be admitted. Then, the story goes, the Mongol Lamaist forgets his vows in a wild, sensual Bacchanalia.

The Mongol woman wears a cloth skirt, often brocaded, a blouse of 291
brocade also, a wide saucer-shaped hat and thick sturdy boots, that are 301
life-long items of apparel. Innumerable necklaces and bracelets of precious stones and long false braids which she makes of horse hair or, if she can afford them, even of human hair, are also part of her costume.

Mongol
Kirghiz

562 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her
177 appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang
773 mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government
622 in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas-
695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

Kirghiz
Kazak

764 Kirgiz, who, for example, have occasionally been found to worship fire, is said to be a vestige of Shamanism.

563 The Kirgiz are split up into many small mountain dwelling groups and often are not able to keep in touch with others of their race. In recent years, however, some have become educated to a more modern, more urbanized life.

Kazakhs

492 Chinese, it may be said, do not usually make distinctions between the Kirgiz and another people of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs. The latter are also Moslems and are widely distributed between the T'ien Shan and the Altai. They speak Turki, are notorious as raiders, and are famous for their wild horsemanship. Tu Chung-yüan says that Kazakh children of five or six are already well trained to ride horseback. "There are none," he says, "at the age of ten who do not have unusual talent such as enables them to tell the sickness of a horse, to control the animal, to stand on its back, to bend from the horse to pick up things, to straighten up quickly, and above all to ride as though glued on the animal. Such feats as these are performed by Kazakh soldiers in Soviet motion pictures."

579 Tu reminds his readers that Sino-Russian boundary demarcations have put one branch of the Kazakhs under Russian and the other under Chinese political authority. This has made it difficult to draw a rigid racial line on the frontier, and Kazakhs riding across the steppes to raid an innocent herder at times have created border incidents. As Tu states, "The Kazakh people are very strong but also very lazy, and outside of tending cattle, often do not have any occupation. So some, when winter comes, take to the life of a lancer. A few steal cattle and horses, and many kill men and take their goods. For this is only an outgrowth of their military talent, and they lack any other way in which to use it. Wouldn't one think that, if these excellent warriors were persuaded to attack the enemy in this time of Resistance, each would do the work of a hundred?"[1]

101 As in many another Chinese racial problem, however, there is a mixup concerning information about the Kazakhs. Russians, who have a separate group named similarly (the famous Kazakhs, or Cossacks

of the Russian cavalry), have called one type of this Turkestan nomad 101 the Kara-Kazakh and another the Kirgiz-Kazakh. C. P. Skrine, a British authority, even describes the Kara-Kazakh as a branch of the Kirgiz. Yet Owen Lattimore emphatically states that the Kirgiz and Kazakh are not the same, that the Kara-Kazakh is actually purely and simply Kazakh and calls himself that, while the Kirgiz-Kazakh is purely and simply Kirgiz and looks down upon the Kazakh as inferior. The Kirei, an outstanding people of former Turkestan history whom Douglas Carruthers has identified as Kirgiz but who, Mr. Lattimore indicates, are Kazakh, are said to have been probably the "purest Turks of all . . ."

Some Other Peoples of Sinkiang

There are still other ethnic groups in Sinkiang, including a large 563 section of White Russian refugees who fled from their native land in the early years of the Soviet Republic, a considerable number of Soviet Russians, and other foreigners. The Tajiks or Sariquolis, found in a "few secluded mountain regions" of the Pamirs and especially in the Sariquol area, are said to be a nearly pure specimen of the so-called *homo alpinus* and do not speak Turki. Other types include two groups of South Sinkiang known as the Habdals and Dulanis, a colony of Turki stock known as Taranchis who are settled in the I-li Valley, and the Uzbeks who appear to be mostly migrants from adjacent Uzbekistan.

The "Fourteen" Races of Sinkiang

The authorities of the New Sinkiang in recent years have tried to 101 popularize the idea that there are "fourteen racial types" among all 563 these people of the province. These the Chinese name as *Han, Man, Meng, Hui, Wei-wu-erh, Ha-sa-k'o, T'a-chi-k'o, T'a-lan-ch'i, T'a-t'a-erh, Ko-erh-k'o-tzu, Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o, Hsi-po, So-lun,* and *Kuei-hua.* The inclusion of such a primarily political and geographical term as Han and religious category as Hui (both already briefly discussed) would tend to eliminate this as any "scientifically" worked out ethnic list. The same comment applies to the *T'a-t'a-erh* (Tatar), the *Ko-erh-k'o-*

101 *tzu,* or Khalkha (both related to the Mongols), the *Hsi-po* (Sibo) and 563 *So-lun* (Solon). The other types mentioned might be identified in their order as Manchu, Mongol, Uighur, Kazakh, Tajik, Taranchi, Uzbek, and White Russians. It is worth while to notice, however, that in the list of the fourteen racial types the name Tung-kan is not mentioned except as it is "swallowed" up in the general categories of Han or Hui. This may be (though it probably is not) due to the equating of the name Tung-kan with the name Hui or (more likely since Wei-wu-erh also are identified as among the category of Hui) to a looseness of racial classification. Yet might not the omission actually be a way of evading mention of a pressing problem and an actual negative indication that all is not yet completely well so far as Sheng and those particular Chinese Moslems are concerned?

Though there has been a certain looseness of expression throughout the fourteen-fold list, so far as Chinese usage is concerned no real error has been made. *Min-tsu,* the Chinese term translated here as "race," literally means a "clan of people," "a tribe," even "a nation." As "clans" or ethnic types the fourteen groups mentioned here certainly deserve to be distinguished, though they may not all represent "races." In fact the naming of them is especially valuable as indicative of the kinds of "people" that are locally prominent now among the Sinkiang "peoples" themselves.

Policy: Old and New

563 It was the resentment of most of the people in this tremendous racial mixture over the former treatment accorded them, which confronted the administrative authorities of the New Sinkiang almost from the first. "Formerly," Tu Chung-yüan writes, "the people were permitted to read only Han books . . . and even if they read those they were not permitted to hold office, but could serve only as half-slave translators. As a result, none of the races wanted to do such work. In the Yang-Chin period force was used to make some do it. But . . . just as soldiers had to be hired in the interior, so only poor persons could be hired to do the reading."

Since Sheng Tu-pan began to stress "Racial Equality," Tu says, change in the traditional policy has come:

> . . . each race and every educational institution has received help from the government; and, though reading of Han books is required, each race can also read its own literature. Since this has happened readers have multiplied like the spread of mist. Government positions have since been opened to all the educated, and the self-respect of each race has been restored . . .

The unfortunate omission of detailed information relating to the place or lack of place of the Tung-kans under this policy, leads one to feel that the Tung-kan question may not even yet have been solved in Sinkiang, and in this respect the policy of "Racial Equality" as practiced in the province may possibly be vulnerable to criticism. Yet, otherwise, the policy seems to have been intended for all racial types in Sinkiang and has become more and more widely effective. During the autumn of 1938, for instance, the "fourteen" ethnic groups of the province met as a body at the All-Sinkiang Conference in Tihwa. Even more long-run evidence which Tu Chung-yüan gives of progress toward solution of the racial questions in Sinkiang is to be found in the broader base of education. Not only is "Racial Equality" practiced in the schools but the cultural contributions of each racial group in the province have been particularly emphasized through organization of what Sinkiang calls Cultural Progress Societies. Both of these developments are described in more detail in the chapter on "Reconstruction."

"Racial Equality" has been, withal, a praiseworthy experiment and it could have great promise for this province. It has affirmed in a land where race and mixture of race have for centuries brought sharp contrasts and rich interchange as well as bitter conflict, that henceforth in Sinkiang there was not to be discrimination against either minority or majority because of lineage. It has promised that each clan may develop its own cultural heritage to the fullest, and that no one clan or combination of clans shall impose its or their way of life forcibly upon any other clan. It has posited for all groups of men, any one group of men, and any one man, equal bestowal of both benefits and duties of society. Surely in such a concept, among the others of the Six Great Policies, could not the peoples of Sinkiang and of all the United Nations well find an intimate community of interests?

574 D. (to me): Twenty-five.

I (to Nadir Beg): *Bist o panj.*

NADIR BEG (to Adjutant): *Zhigima-besh.*

ADJUTANT (to Amban) Twenty-five (whatever it is in Chinese!)

Next question, by the same route, from the Amban: "How is it that whereas, owing to the intense cold of this barbarous country, we and our subjects wear quantities of clothes right up to the chin, the Tai-tai wears nothing but a skirt and a closely-fitting garment cut low at the neck?" Sensation on arrival of this question! After some deliberation we concoct a suitable reply, to the effect that the country from which the Tai-tai comes, Scotland, is intensely cold, far colder than the Chinese Pamirs, and that this country seems quite hot to her—hence the scantiness of her attire!

After tea D. visited the wives of the O.C. Garrison and the Adjutant. She told me afterwards that both were Tajiks and the Adjutant's wife very pretty. After the visit at their house the ladies came back with D. to her room, and D. had to show them her dresses and keep them amused till a quarter past eight, when they finally departed.

484 The last lap of our long trek, from Tashqurghan to Kashgar by the Chichiklik route, was in many ways the most interesting
● 563 of all. We slept each night in Kirghiz tents which had been collected for us by the Beg of the neighbourhood; this was arranged each day, in the Tashqurghan district, by an excellent Tajik orderly or *yayieh* sent with us by the Magistrate of Tashqurghan. Our transport was similarly arranged, ponies, yaks, camels or donkeys according to what was available. As soon as we entered the Yangi Hissar district an orderly from the Amban of that place met us and performed similar services. A tower of strength to the party was Nadir Beg, already mentioned as having met us at the Mintaka, who looked after us in a most fatherly manner and to whom we took a great liking. A tall, handsome, black-bearded, cheerful, energetic man of about forty, a good horseman and hard as nails, Nadir is a splendid specimen of the Tajik race; he is particularly useful on the march in Sariqol, for he seems to have known every one of the people, Tajiks and Kirghiz alike, from
522 their childhood up. He also has a strong sense of humour. I shall never forget the glee with which he told us what his small son had said to him on seeing Gerard Price wearing an oiled-silk waterproof cover over his sun-helmet. "Daddy,"

said the little boy, " why does the Sahib wear a lamb's tummy 522 on his head ? " The problem of supplies was not so difficult 563 as we had expected. Milk, cream and butter were always to be had from the Kirghiz, but we only once or twice got eggs and never a chicken. At the shop of the one Hindu *bunnia* at Tashqurghan D. was able to replenish her store of flour, oil, dried fruits, walnuts and matches for the onward journey.

On 9th July we left Tashqurghan in state, our caravan now 574 consisting of 17 ponies and one donkey. The Amban made amends for having ignored our arrival by arranging an elaborate *chah-jan* or farewell tea-drinking, combined with a parade of the entire garrison of Tashqurghan. This took place by the road-side about a mile from the bazaar. In the three-walled mud hut used for these ceremonies D. and I sat on the edge of a platform on each side of a wooden tray containing a china bowl of green tea for each of us, and two or three saucers of currants, almonds and strange Chinese confectionery tasting mostly of dust. On one side of the interior of the " reception-pavilion " sat the Amban and O.C. Tashqurghan, on the other G. and our Aqsaqal, while the Turki-speaking interpreter, standing, did his best with the Aqsaqal to keep the very sticky conversational ball rolling between us and the Chinese. The parade consisted of about thirty men and four enormous red banners ; the drill was most successful, until an unexpected evolution had to be performed in connexion with the photograph I took of the army, which caused the O.C. to march and counter-march his troops over half the area under his command before he finally got them to face the camera. Farewells and much hand-shaking completed the proceedings. It may be mentioned here that when a Chinaman shakes hands, he shakes his own hand, the other person doing the same opposite him, both parties bowing deeply the while.

Escaped at last from ceremonial, we revelled once more in 487 an exhilarating canter over the grassy pamir ; past Tiznaf and Chashman, groups of tiny farmsteads, each with its willow-clump, standing amid wide fields of corn and rich pasture ; past bend after bend of the river, running clear as crystal through the meadows with many a fine pool, a possible trout-stream wickedly wasted in unstocked emptiness.

Leaving the Sariqol valley ten miles north of Tashqurghan we mounted steadily for five hours and camped at 12,300 feet in the narrow Darshart ravine. Next day we crossed the

(Translation)

764 When you arose, oh my Lord, it was with God's name on your lips;
When you lay down, it was in God's name.
  In summer you fed me, oh my Lord;
  In winter you were my cloak.
I am left in a lake [illegible]th no water in it,
I am left in a garden in which there is no shade.

105
•563
In considering the manners, customs, folklore, etc., of the Tarim Basin, it must be remembered that considerable differences exist between the four or five chief oases, corresponding roughly to their geographical positions. To differentiate between them and make a comparative study of material from the different towns would be impossible in the space at my disposal, even if I possessed the necessary knowledge. Speaking generally, however, it may be remarked that Kashgar is the least mediæval and at the same time the most Mussulman of the Six Cities. Culturally it belongs to the Transcaspian Khanates, Khoqand, Bokhara, Samarqand and Khiva, strongholds of Islam. Owing to its proximity to the Russian frontier and the strong interest taken in it by the Muscovite Government since the seventies, it has a thin—a very thin—veneer of Russian culture. Aqsu, 300 miles nearer Urumchi and separated from Russian territory by the tremendous barrier of the Central Tien Shan, is a predominantly Uigur city with strong Mongol and Chinese strains. Kucha, 200 miles further east, is also an ancient Uigur city, and has a history and an art of its own. Further east still, Qarashahr is the chief centre of that formidable and unpleasant race, Chinese by culture and Mussulman by religion, the Tungans. Yarkand is the meeting-place of the nations; in its culture neither China nor Russia are of much account, and such foreign influence as there is comes through Afghanistan from Persia and through Kashmir from India. The great oasis of Khotan or Ilchi is in many ways the most interesting of all, for it is the part of the Tarim Basin which has been least affected by outside influences, including Islam. It was probably a flourishing pagan State long before Buddhism reached it from India. For a thousand years it was the seat of an Indo-Scythian civilization under Chinese influence, with a rich and ornate Buddhism as its official religion; was it not to Khotan that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent in A.D. 65 the famous Mission which brought back Buddhism to Cathay? The Kingdom fought hard against Islam, holding out for

105 563 centuries, and even now that Faith is noticeably weaker here and paganism stronger than at Yarkand or Kashgar. With this fact is undoubtedly connected—whether as cause or effect it is difficult to say—Khotan's pre-eminence in arts and crafts. As I have already remarked, its people weave better, embroider better, work metal better and design more artistically than those of any other oasis in the province, not even excepting Kucha. At Khotan, singing and playing are not a monopoly of the professionals, but are practised by all classes; D. tells me that the dancing at the women's parties is noticeably more natural and lively than the somewhat stilted (though never ungraceful) measures danced by the beauties of Kashgar.

535 The following is an account from one of D's. letters of the dancing at a typical Kashgar "purdah party."

> "When the food had been cleared away, the three musicians set up a song and a lively tune on the guitar and tambourine. After a becoming hesitation one of the guests got up and danced. It was curious dancing, rhythmical, rather stiff, without much variety in the steps, but a great deal of graceful arm-work, yet quite different from the typical Indian nautch. As she danced, one by one the other guests rose, walked up to her with money in their hands, passed their arms over her head, and then dropped the money into a tray in front of the musicians. When every one including myself had given something, the dancer turned to one of the other guests and danced in front of her until she got up and took the floor, when the first one subsided into a corner. This process was repeated until all the guests had danced except myself. During the dancing of each guest all the others put money into the musicians' tray with the same ceremonial, often only a copper or two, but always something. Some of the richer ones dropped presents of Indian cloth of gold, Chinese silk or Russian velvet, into the musicians' tray. Then, as every one looked at me, I got up and gave them a Highland sword-dance, which was a huge success and brought the band large sums."

533 [534] The Eastern Turkis are a musical race. At Kashgar professional minstrels abound and are in request at every party. The instruments most commonly in use are the *dotar*, a two-stringed guitar; the Persian *rabāb*, a six-stringed kind of mandoline; and the *dop* or tambourine. The *surnai* or pipe of Afghanistan is also occasionally heard. The ballad is still a living verse-form, and the troubadours of Artush are famous for their improvizations on any subject. Two days after the defeat and execution of the Titai a ribald ballad, which I took down later, was being sung about him in the streets. The young men and boys sing everywhere they go;

000 Sunset in September 12,000 feet up—must have been freezing hard. Of course the oil froze and clogged your bolt. Wonder the rifle went off at all."

•563 233 We were surprised to find a family of "Sarts" or ordinary Turkis sharing this small valley[1] with the Kirghiz. Coming down from the ibex-ground one day I overtook them trekking down from their summer grazings, a pretty sight. On the opposite side of the stream a lean-visaged Sart shepherded a couple of hundred sheep and goats up an almost perpendicular cliff and along narrow ledges literally overhanging the torrent; this was necessary because the current was too strong for short-legged muttons to cross. Behind, a quaint procession came filing down the track and splashed across the stream; half a dozen mares with their foals, a man and two boys perched on masses of bedding on top of ponies, a neat smiling Sart woman with her baby and another man leading a camel piled high with the framework and felts of the family mansion.

484 Descending to the plains once more, we camped two glorious days on wide meadows near the long yellow loess bluffs of the Taushkan River. A hundred and fifty miles of the snowy Mountains of Heaven sparkled in the sky to west and north and north-east of us. It was advisable to give the baggage ponies (we had hired new ones at Uch Turfan) and our own animals a day or two in clover before the next lap of our journey; for we were to march 164 miles across the southern face of the Central Tien Shan and down the lower Muzart Valley to Bai on the Kucha road.

000 We were sorry to leave the Uch Turfan neighbourhood and the lovely valley of the "Hare River." We found the people delightful and quite unspoilt, especially the women. The latter, poor dears, seemed to be even more at a discount than at Kashgar; not one in five appeared to have a husband to herself, and they complained bitterly to D. of their hard lot. They came in streams to our camp among the meadows to "salaam" D. and beg medicines for blind, crippled, tuberculous and otherwise incurable relations. And not one of them came empty-handed. All tried to pay D. for her medicine or advice in peaches, eggs, melons, cream, corn-cobs or some such agricultural product. And when she not only made them take back most of their "widow's mites" but distributed (as she always did wherever we went) little presents of buttons, imitation jewellery, safety-pins, pieces of muslin, beads and

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[1] [The Yangi Art Jilgha -- Analyst]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

had to pick him up and put him back on it. After a time 000
he fell off again, and his horse became frightened and kicked off its saddle and upset the baggage-ponies, and they stampeded all over the jungle and many loads came off. It took us a long time to get the caravan started again. As the *chirik* could not sit on his own horse I brought him in across my saddle-bow."

At the next stage, Chadar Kul, we found ourselves among 563
Dulanis, the same cheerful, dirty, good-looking, quarrelsome, disreputable, singularly attractive race whose acquaintance we had made in the spring at Merket. Once more we chafed under the attentions of hordes of male sightseers, once more we marvelled at the beauty of cherubic but incredibly dirty children. Just outside the village we passed two large parties [525]
of gamblers, almost all men, dicing under the trees; in the bazaar their wives were minding the shops and doing what little work is done in a Dulani village. The Tarim river 136
jungles, which here began in earnest, held great numbers of "Shaw's pheasant," magnificent birds with plumage of flame-colour shot with purple and tail-feathers barred with black. The sport, indeed, in this neighbourhood was almost too good; besides the woods full of pheasants, the ponds and marsh-lakes swarmed with duck and teal, which had evidently just arrived on their way south. At one place the wild duck actually came and sat on the village pond, eighty yards from the back of the rest-house in which we lodged.

At Tumshuk, forty miles east of Maralbashi, we left the 487
main road and struck southwards for about twenty miles to a lonely shepherd's cottage on the south bank of the Tarim, where we spent four most pleasant and restful days encamped in a little grove of desert poplars among the melon-beds. Pheasants, duck, teal and other game abounded, while the brushwood-covered flats were a perfect Zoo for wild life of all kinds.

It was a charming place in the bright autumn weather; 000
the blue river wound close by; to the south rose abruptly from the plain another of the curious ranges of hills which are peculiar to the neighbourhood; within a mile or so lay two beautiful fresh-water lakes, one of them ten miles long and two broad, reflecting in their glassy waters here the crags of the Choka Tagh, there the mighty dunes of the Takla Makan. For we were on the very verge of the great desert; it was beyond those very dunes that Sven Hedin lost all his camels

487 knew so well, four hundred miles to the north-west. At midday we were met by the friendly people of Polu who had pitched for us a tiny tent made of sacks on a cliff-top 800 feet above the river-bed. With the indefatigable hospitality of remoter Asia, they had brought all the way from Polu, several miles further up among the mountains, an enormous meal of boiled sheep, bread, tea and hard-boiled eggs dyed bright blue, the favourite colour of Khotan.[1]

361 Polu is the largest of the hill-villages at the western end of the Altun Tagh or Mountains of Gold, a branch of the Kunlun stretching for a thousand miles to the E.N.E. until it merges
487 with the Nan Shan. The relative importance of Polu is due to the fact that it commands the only possible track leading up over the Kunlun to the northern plateau of Tibet and so to Ladakh and India. The defiles on the north side of the pass are exceedingly narrow and almost, if not quite, impossible for pack transport of any kind; but for a distance of 530 miles, from the Hindu Tash Pass (17,750 ft.) over the Sanju range in the west to the Qarasai gap above Cherchen in the east, there is no other path at all by which men can cross the tremendous barrier of the Kunlun. Polu is picturesquely
361 situated at a height of 8,500 feet on a ridge between two branches of the Keriya River's chief tributary. Its fields are lined with tall poplars and dotted with clumps of fine planes and walnuts. The village consists of closely-packed, flat-topped houses of wood and stone with curious raised skylights in the middle of the roof, and has a look of Baltistan or Tibet which differentiates it at once from the settlements of the hill "Sarts" and Kirghiz of the Kashgar Range and the Tien Shan.
•[563] Stein thinks that there may be Tibetan blood in the people, and certainly they do not regard themselves as belonging to the same race as the people of Khotan and Keriya. Polu and neighbouring villages do not belong to Keriya district, as one would have expected; they are grouped with Imamlär, Chakar, Hasha, Nura and other oases of the great "bay"

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[1] The word *kök* (blue) is often used in Khotan as a synonym for "beautiful," without conveying any particular colour. I heard a minstrel sing:

Sai buida tört tufak
Törtilärsi kök tufak.
Four heifers on the desert's edge
And all four of them blue (i.e. lovely) heifers.

The reason why the shells of presentation eggs are always coloured is because white is unlucky, being the colour of death and mourning.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

S N I. General Introduction

131 The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces:
635 Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now
161 called the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an
S N area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China),
144 in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least
563 four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides
and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups:
Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese
(chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz
(chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars
(chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western
Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin.
Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la),
N Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin.
563 Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic
groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently
listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved
that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate
ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

S N
563 While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs,
771 Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather
firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western
Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera
Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern
form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in
a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism,
S N Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays
563 an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the
233 Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive
241 horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang,
agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter
about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of
the North west agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary
S Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture
N and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of
563 Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims
43 are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of
N Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest
369 are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest
000

S N 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

S N 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered but also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

S N 175 642 177 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type.
S [171] The Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in
S N [668] [565] Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

175 631 795 647 657 The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

S N 175 631 647 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military-staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of
000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S N 489 496 648 668 175 [491] Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

S N 631 563 657 175 As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

S N 563 659 175 The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

S 631 635 175 Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. S 631 657 175 647 Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the'Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S
631 d. Justice bureau which took care of the civil and criminal
657 cases of the frontier area.

175 e. Territorial development bureau which took care of the
647 preservation of forests, wild animals and which was in charge
of the improvement of live-stock, fur curing and of the Mongolian
S N inhabitants in general.

175 The Yüan and Manchu dynasties, which themselves repre-
657 sented minorities, employed a quite different, one might say a
563 positive attitude towards non-Chinese. Generally speaking,
S the Manchus functioned and acted as the mediators between the
N minorities and the Chinese. But even the Manchus, after they
175 had become completely sinified, used colonial methods that
657 led to revolts and uprisings in Sinkiang, in Kansu and in Chinghai.
563 The Chinese Muslims in Kansu, e. g., revolted in 1648, 1781-1784,
669 1820-28, 1862-78, 1895-97, 1918-21, 1928-1929, at which times
they tried, with little success, to get rid of the Chinese mastery
and to establish their own Muslimic realm. Whenever such
uprisings occurred, the Muslimic Turks of Sinkiang sympathized
with them or revolted at the same time. In Sinkiang, Yakub
Bäk even succeeded in establishing a short-lived Muslimic
empire between 1864-1877. The Western Mongols of Sinkiang,
Kansu and Chinhai, who revolted and established the Dzungarian
Empire between 1673 and 1697, were defeated by a Chinese
army in 1697 and again in 1757. In Chinghai, the Tanguts
(Tibetans) revolted successfully many times, but like all other
minorities who tried and failed, they were eventually brought
under Chinese control again. Needless to say, all these un-
successful petty revolutions, revolts and uprisings of non-
Chinese or Chinese Muslims, always upset the economy of the
area greatly, increasing thereby the hatred towards the Chinese
in general, and the Chinese officials in particular.

S N II. Main Patterns of Social Life, Social Organization and Mode of Economy of the Minorities.

175
631 Even though the Northwest is occupied by a fantastic con-
619 glomeration of heterogeneous societies, it still can be, and
always has been, considered by politicians as one area, a
S political, military, and economic unit, and also as the "land
N of promise," which it in fact became. When the Communists
175 again set up the unit as an administrative area in 1949, it
631 was only the continuation of an old concept, held by the
668 Chinese rulers because of the geographical location of the North-
178 west and its commercial traditions (silk road, Mongolia-
619 Tibet road, Chinghai-Tibet road, Sinkiang-India road,
648 Sinkiang-Russia road), which culminated in Sheng Shih-ts'ai's
cooperation with Russia, or earlier with Yakub Bäk's policy

S N
175 towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion
631 created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian
668 Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that
178 created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet
619 through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the
four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small
648 degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one
administrative unit.

S
The Eastern Turks:

● 563 The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is
241 based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational
complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through
S 563 the organized use of water. The family organization among the
Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain
596 level of productivity can only be reached through collective
labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason
S [312] the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern
is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount
[241] of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational
systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water
is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based
S upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed
[622] by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself
[634] whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by
Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists.
S 563 A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed
S by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form
[441] "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

S K
Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

563 Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition
614 of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the
S K Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted
563 in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among
233 these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose
361 most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition
[177] to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists
insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent
[668] winter camp site, since this facilitates better political
control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site
S K still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz
[622] and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders)
responsible to the Chinese officials.

S N
563 The Mongols: general remarks.

[233] Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The
[594] basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

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S
N **A group of patrilineally**
● 563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other Northwestern
177 societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[434] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
[131] around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the available
S resources.
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worthwhile
to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
563 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
361 the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
[622] in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
S
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

563 /Oirats/

621 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
593 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.
562 The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over
the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the
care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother
of her husband.

Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[422] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to
[233] dependent related or non-related families are managed by
the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
563 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
622 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
591 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that
233 cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is
lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to
leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there
were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
233 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of
428 the clergy.

The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
563 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean
621 that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts,
or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"?
The reference is vague on this point.)

If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
563 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own
628 "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was
made operative.

The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
563 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
621 it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In
[651] addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
land from which they choose a part each summer and each
628 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
233 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be
423 granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however;
no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S
563 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of
622 importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations,
628 internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc.
S This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.
792 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are
443 the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet
each other in order to trade their products and where they
go for religious festivals.

S
563 There are slight differences in herd ownership and
management between the various tribes of the Western
619 Mongols.(They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or
233 "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red
422 tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western
Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the
Oirat proper.

S
[602] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related
individuals while others do not. The basis for different
[609] types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S
563 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with
other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of
177 history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition
S underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of
[184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended
family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of
taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the
same in all tribes.

N The Salars:
563 In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes
794 of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the
merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia
to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch
of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars
are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals
in China.

N
[197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the
original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken
N
[191] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese
and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a
N
563 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems
794 in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among
177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and
184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the
extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from
eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed
to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

N 563 preclude their enjoying any great influence.

794 The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form.
[795] Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members'
[596] main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture
[241] goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable
[438] role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant
since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

S 563 The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a
small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct.
S [241] Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never
[233] learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays
[464] the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle
owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese
S [422] farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows,
sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is
S [592] the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

S [233] The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly
becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old
S [614] Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy
exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The
S [792] economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries,
[422] for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

N 563 Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and
M 233 Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect,
241 the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest
178 that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming.
[177] They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools
for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the
Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as
N 563 the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows,
M 231 mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred
[554] only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

N 563 The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the
extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally
M 596 oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy
[603] authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.
[421]

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain
N 563 whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a
M 614 Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the
622 head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he
177 directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of
178 the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

S N
II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

563 It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai
182 and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability
has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the
Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves
utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion,
language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independ-
S ence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they
N consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability
[167] is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants
who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks,
S and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against them-
N selves. The third reason for the unstable character of the
[651] societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the
minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their
offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity
to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number
of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to
merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products.
S In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities
N and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves
563 was at times considerable. As an illustration one might re-
669 member that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931
and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims
182 (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols,
Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese
Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a
special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the
two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This
period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and
confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last
S decades.

563 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested
in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment,
635 like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang, with a cleaner officialdom, ruled
182 the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the
S N frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

563 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the North-
west is the incompatibility of various religions, especially
798 the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful
182 Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any
other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans,
Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a
barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in
regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat
inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

S N 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

S N 563 668 [641] S N [177] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

S N 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

S N 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

S N 829 S N 829 571 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission. The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

S N
668 Based on our experience with Soviet Russia, there can be
186 little doubt that the Chinese Communist propaganda has been,
or will be, successful in building up a tremendous feeling
for nation and nationality, an artificial and overemphasized
S N pride for everything which is China or Chinese. The Chinese society
[182] in the Northwest might be described as stable and united because
of its common history, common language, common beliefs,
common pattern of living (agriculture by means of irrigation
accounting for ninety-five percent) and common fate. We do not
refer to the artificial stability and unity enforced by secret
police and military garrisons which might turn into a genuine
stability like that in Russia after a long period of propaganda.
Training of the younger generation and making propagandistic
use of political mistakes committed by other powers, like
Hitler's lost war against Russia, which was the last step in
S N developing a final and real unity among Russians.

563 Turning back to the minorities, we can say that the Turks
795 and the Chinese Muslims do have a sense of mission in
797 regard to their religion. For centuries the Muslim has been
668 taught to fight and to convert the "non-believers" to the "only
true faith on earth": Islam (Mohammedanism). How strong
their feeling is in regard to their religion may be seen from
the fact that the Communist regime avoids carefully interference
in religious matters and even permits every religious activity
to continue, including the pilgrimage to Mecca. Of course,
the average Muslim is hardly aware of the fact that the top
S level Muslim leadership is under complete control of the Com-
563 munist regime. As a religious group the Turks (Eastern
795 Turks, Salars, Kirghiz, Kazakhs and some small islamized
Tibetan clans) and the Dungans (Chinese Muslims) are united
to a certain degree and they do have a sense of common
destiny, repeatedly brought forward, when political events
showed that they considered themselves one single group,
imbued with common fate, which culminated in their idea
and highest aim: the attempt to erect their own Islamic
Empire and realm, an attempt which cost hecatombs of blood
but never came true. Their perception and conviction that
the support of their highest spiritual leaders, first the Caliph
of Baghdad, then the Sultan of Constantinople and finally the
Great Mufti of Jerusalem (in spite of Stalin's and Ata Turk's
discouraging denoucement of any Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic
movement) developed their group feeling and group conscious-
S N ness.

563 As far as the Mongols of the Northwest are concerned, it
can be stated that because of their geographical separation
S N (see map of ethnic groups) political disunion was inevitable.
[795] However, as an ethnic and religious group (the Mongols are

S N 563 all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging
[795] together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their
former power is declining more and more every decade and
that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the
encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure.
The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region
(to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently
been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou
for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore
to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength
and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during
the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those
autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and
might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders
who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an
ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification
S N and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only
563 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say
668 what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic
group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous
177 culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but
there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

S N IV. Dominant Social Motives.

181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the
Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation.
Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be [illegible]peated
that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole
energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who
S N cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on.
181 In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious
771 ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced
it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true
[769] religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional
respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

S N
181 of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering
771 Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In
general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious
matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked
askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods,
S N but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.
181 The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes
to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his
own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious.
Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities
and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready
to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency
found especially within the extended family, which as a rule
feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc.,
of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically
anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional
attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the
last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese
proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from
good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace,
to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom
he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and
S government, can be described as the average conception of
N the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives
342 in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area,
35 caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor
S N altar being almost the only furniture.
517 Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by
571 the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course,
565 the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to
423 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable
part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the
S N frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-
565 minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials
571 and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time
423 holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a
178 class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia,
became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China,
668 showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia,
Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the
Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep
S N inclination towards Communism.
563 In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz,
233 Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives
are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a
religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the
nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

S N
563 depends on his herds: they are his only resource, his only
233 wealth, and his only pride. When two nomads meet, whether
[521] they are Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, or Tibetans, the first
subject that comes up is their cattle. Among nomads, social
[554] status is established by the possession of horses, camels,
[422] and livestock in general, and only secondarily determined
by titles or descent. This is especially true for the Kirghiz,
Kazakhs and Tibetans, and to a lesser degree for the
Mongols, among whom aristocratic birth (real or imagined)
S N plays an important role.

The average nomad's life can be described as follows: he
[342] lives in a roomy felt tent, furnished with house altar, in the
[352] case of Buddhists, or with an artistically made book-stand
[353] for the Quran in the case of Muslims, and some chests and
carpets. The whole family takes care of the livestock, and
periodically the migration unit moves during the summer time
S N from pasture to pasture, preserving the richest and most
[621] protected grazing land for the winter time. The weather
plays a fatal role in the welfare of the nomad's livestock, and
every so often a migration unit (the ail, the aul, the ayir,
S N the omoq, otoq, xotn, or uruq, the ulus or even the aimaq)
[614] loses its livestock. In this case, those clans which still own
[426] enough livestock divide their herds and lend part of them to
those who suffered the loss. Collective cooperation is exer-
[476] cised in this respect by Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Mongols,
while the nomadic Tibetans, in a similar situation, have quite
S N a reputation for robbing neighboring tribes of their livestock.

563 The nomadic way of life, the close contact with nature and
771 dependence on nature promotes animism, shamanism, and spiritualism, which goes hand in hand with the prevailing religions
of Islam (in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars, and
some Tibetan clans) and Buddhism (in the case of the Mongols,
Tibetans, and Sarigh-Uighurs). As a general rule, the nomadic
Kirghiz and Kazakh are not very fanatic or ardent Muslims, and
neither are the Mongols very pious Buddhists, but still, both
S N feel strongly about their religious although they are rather lax
in their observance. No matter how poor a Buddhistic nomad
[792] is, he voluntarily supports and feeds wandering lamas,
[794] invites several on major occasions (birth, death, and marriage
if the bride's father can afford it), pays them, and finally is
accustomed to the old tradition ot giving a small percentage of
his livestock every year to Buddhistic monasteries. All
nomads are very superstitious, and the relationship between
cause and effect is often misinterpreted, e.g., in the case
of disease or weather. It is safe to say that the dominant
motives of the nomads are economic in the first place and
religious in the second place.

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V. Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

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The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century.

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Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning.

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As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted,

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and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

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Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

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There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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668 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization
233 are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among
the nomads.

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563 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious.
181 Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting
dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the
S Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic
N trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization
[668] can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will
hardly accept it in their minds.

S N
VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence.
181 It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for
153 maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against
the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old
S uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances
N the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic
563 mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily
153 matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable
577 inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to
an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered
S N "bad" deeds.

563 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some
153 Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims
779 (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or
155 Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

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563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvorschrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concerning the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is rather justified.

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563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individual
153 to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
185 romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads
[158] as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representative and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over the universe.

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563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus), Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

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563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
[827] as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens, the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat), is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

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563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

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563 in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols
771 and Turks.

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181 While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is
rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as
[829] his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach
to individual problems is characterized by a distinct
N realism and opportunism.

[635] The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively
populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces
[162] of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and
general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is
more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful
when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more
upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the
N bureaucracy.

181 Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided
into the following groups: the descendants of those who were
166 exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu
167 period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were
sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least,
the colonists (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers
and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper
and finally descendants of former garrison troops and
merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier
N service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

181 Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi
and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed
from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile
N and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed
[812] situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life
and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for
his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area
makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test
more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a
healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the
neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is
difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less
N bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in
[668] the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena,
because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere
of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist,
inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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HISTORICAL SETTING

N I. General History of Relations with China

631 Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Com-
munist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar
N geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic
635 groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is
[162] Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper through-
out history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Al-
though it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single
N province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest.
[633] Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and
[177] still is today China's political and military base for the control of
the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese
[668] culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in
the present.

S At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the
635 province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies
[131] half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh
[61] of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a
• [563] people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is
divided among thirteen nationalities.

N In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, in-
635 habited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known
as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese
and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia,
and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an
hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east
and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N + 175 A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

487 All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been fun-
S nelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient
175 Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as
487 Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chi-
nese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern
routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquer-
ing armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this
narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the
desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads,
lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured
through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to
found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the
trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porce-
lain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets
of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers
have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

175 with Russia and sought to return to the fold of China. The National
159 Government had been waiting for this opportunity. Immediately it
648 dispatched officials to Sinkiang to take over the administration from
[167] Sheng's underlings; Nationalist troops under Chu Shao-liang and
Ma Pu-fang were sent to overawe Sheng's army; and another tide of
Chinese colonists invaded Sinkiang and were settled in the vicinity of
Urumchi.

Under these circumstances, Sheng Shih-ts'ai tried to shift back to Soviet Russia. Moreover, by this time, Russian forces had rolled the German invaders back from Leningrad and Stalingrad and were steadily advancing. In 1944, Sheng ordered the arrest of Chinese Nationalist officials and also of students and teachers from China Proper. His coup failed and the National Government removed Sheng from the governorship of Sinkiang and transferred him to Chungking to the sinecure position of Minister of Agriculture. This was the end of the colorful career of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A trusted Nationalist official, Wu Chung-hsin, was appointed as governor of Sinkiang.

One of the many problems that Wu Chung-hsin inherited from
175 Sheng Shih-ts'ai was that of the Kazakhs in Ili. In 1940 Sheng had
159 arrested 70 Kazakh delegates from the Altai region who had come to
669 protest his high-handed treatment of their people. When news of the
[563] arrest reached the Kazakhs, they revolted en masse, led by one of
their chieftains, Osman Batur. After sporadic fighting between the rebels and provincial troops, Sheng agreed to negotiate and to release the prisoners. However, before they were released, a number of them were executed. Incensed by this act of treachery, the Kazakhs in the Altai region revolted again. They put up a strong resistance but were finally overwhelmed by Sheng's forces. Osman Batur fled.

When Sheng turned against the Russians and attempted a rapprochement with China, Osman Batur organized the Altai-Kazakh Restoration Society. With arms from Outer Mongolia and the tacit support of Soviet Russia, he attacked and captured Ching-ho, Tacheng (Chuguchak) and A-shan (Altai). He was besieging Wu-su in 1944 when the new governor, Wu Chung-hsin, decided to negotiate. In the settlement of this uprising, which has been called the "Ining (Kulja) Incident", the Chinese agreed to withdraw their troops from Kulja and to grant the Kazakhs semi-autonomy in the territory they held which included Kuldja, Ta-cheng and A-shan. The new Eastern Turkestan Republic was established at Kulja. It had a government headed by a council of three, a Kazakh, a Uighur, and a White Russian. One of the leaders, Akhmejan Kasimi, was placed in charge of administration and finance; another of the leaders, Osman Batur, headed the army, which at one time was reported to number 40,000 men.

175 By November, 1945, the Ili rebellion had spread to the Tarim
669 Basin and insurgent forces surrounded Yarkand, Khargalik, and Kho-
(648) tan. At that time it was denied that Soviet Russia gave any military

175 assistance to the Ili rebels. Later, however, when the Chinese
669 Communists came to power, there were profuse statements thank-
648 ing the Soviet Government for its unstinted aid and support. Soviet
support to the Ili rebels was more apparent on the diplomatic plane.
The Soviet consul-general at Urumchi was openly friendly to the
rebels. He gave them every encouragement, while he played his
game as intermediary between Kazakh insurgents and the Chinese
authorities.

175 The negotiations between the Ili regime and the Chinese govern-
669 ment delegates headed by Chang Chih-chung lasted from October,
1945, to June, 1946. The insurgents were willing to abandon their
independence if the Chinese government would grant them autonomy.
The Chinese negotiators were willing to permit the Ili regime to
retain its armed forces as a peace preservation corps if the Chinese
could have top military command and full authority in Sinkiang's
diplomatic affairs.

Finally a settlement was reached in the summer of 1946. An agreement was signed providing for a reconciliation between the Chinese authorities and the rebel leaders. Attached to the agreement were two codicils concerning the reform of the provincial government and reorganization of the armed forces. The terms of the settlement also contained provisions for the election of district officials by adult suffrage and for the formation of a provincial government composed of men, some of whom were appointed by the Chinese government and some nominated by the provincial delegates. The use of the Uighur and Kazakh languages was permitted in schools and in the army. To implement the agreement, Chang Chih-chung succeeded Wu Chung-hsin as governor. Burkhan Shahidi, a Uighur, and Akhmejan Kasimi, a Kazakh, were appointed vice-chairmen of the provincial administration. A determined effort was made to improve the government and to give the local people a greater voice in political affairs.

175 However, realization of these agreements, which would have
668 given the non-Chinese residents of Sinkiang a large measure of self-
669 government, was delayed and hamstrung by distrust and hostility on
661 both sides. The military commanders and the diehard Kuomintang
578 party members were unwilling to relinquish their prerogatives to
563 the native leaders; the extremist native leaders were impatient and
uncompromising. In February, 1947, the more contentious elements,
led by Akhmejan Kasimi, issued a statement, known as the Kulja
Declaration. It denounced the supremacy of one nationality (the
Chinese) over the other nationalities of Sinkiang, and called for the
unification of all the races of Sinkiang under a native government.
Adopting a moderate attitude, Chang Chih-chung issued a statement
declaring that, while Sinkiang should have an autonomous and demo-
cratic government, the pattern of the government should be based on
the ideas of Sun Yat-sen rather than on Soviet ideas.

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

000 N civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai,
*175 and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia
635 was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of
S the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between
175 635 the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast
as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast
and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were
first brought under China's political control during the Han
Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political
ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

S In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards
175 Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili
648 valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-
635 t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province
under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in
1881.

N In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from
*175 Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward
648 to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu
635 Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia
and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special
districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under
the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they
were made into two separate provinces. However, quite
unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian
Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been
added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan
and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province
and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.
Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although
S N the political control over these frontier dependencies of
635 Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually
162 by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in
relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the
distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the
inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors,
Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples
with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an
increasing number of Chinese elements among the various
native groups.

S The annexation of these frontier territories to China has
N brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and
635 the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers.
186 Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced
[563] much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged
between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S N **B. Population Problems**

563 578 669 648 175 1. Traditional Antagonism Between the Moslems and the Chinese

Of the many problems in regard to the population of Northwest China, the traditional antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese, together with its international complications, is by far the most serious. Moslem uprisings have been frequent and often caused great massacres on both sides. In most cases the Moslem disturbances are supported and made use of by ambitious neighboring powers, particularly Russia - both Tsarist and Soviet. In 1871 Tsarist Russia used the 1861-1874 Moslem disturbance as a pretext to occupy the Ili Valley and then force China to cede the lower part of the Valley, sest of Khargos to Russia. Time and again Russia took advantage of Moslem troubles in Sinkiang to make some special territorial, political and economic demands in the provinces, i.e., free trade in Sinkiang by the Ili Commercial Treaty of 1851 and the cession of the territory west of Tarbagatai by the treaty of Chuguchak (Ta-cheng) in 1864.

S 648 Sinkiang had always been a center of international intrigue between Russia and Britain for the spoils of Central Asia, as well as the barometer of power relations between Russia and China. (See Foreign Relations).

S 642 177 [668] 2. The Uighur Autonomy

Under the Chinese Communist Regime, Sinkiang became the Uighur Autonomous Area in September, 1955. A National Autonomy for Sinkiang was first recommended by General Chang Chih-chung, a liberal Nationalist Government high official in 1946-49. He was "influenced by views of American politicians who insisted that the principle of self-government should be applied to Sinkiang also - an illusory wish for a people which stood between Russia and China, like a mouse between two cats." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955).

S 167 708 466 A continuous great influx of Chinese to Sinkiang has occurred, which is particularly marked by the present-day Army Construction Corps and the presence of the Corrective Labor Force. The soldiers are sent to meet the urgent demand of labor to undertake the gigantic construction program and the latter, estimated at several hundred thousands, are condemned to forced labor in the thinly populated border areas. (See: Labor).

S 642 668 177 "Since the Chinese Communist troops entered Sinkiang, the rulers have always been Chinese, and at present, with the introduction of autonomy, this Chinese domination is the more emphasized." (CNA. No. 103, October 7, 1955). Furthermore, Government officials are transferred from Peking to Sinkiang in large numbers. On August 21, 1955, seventy-nine officials from the "First Grade Offices" of the Central Government left Peking for Sinkiang; at the same time

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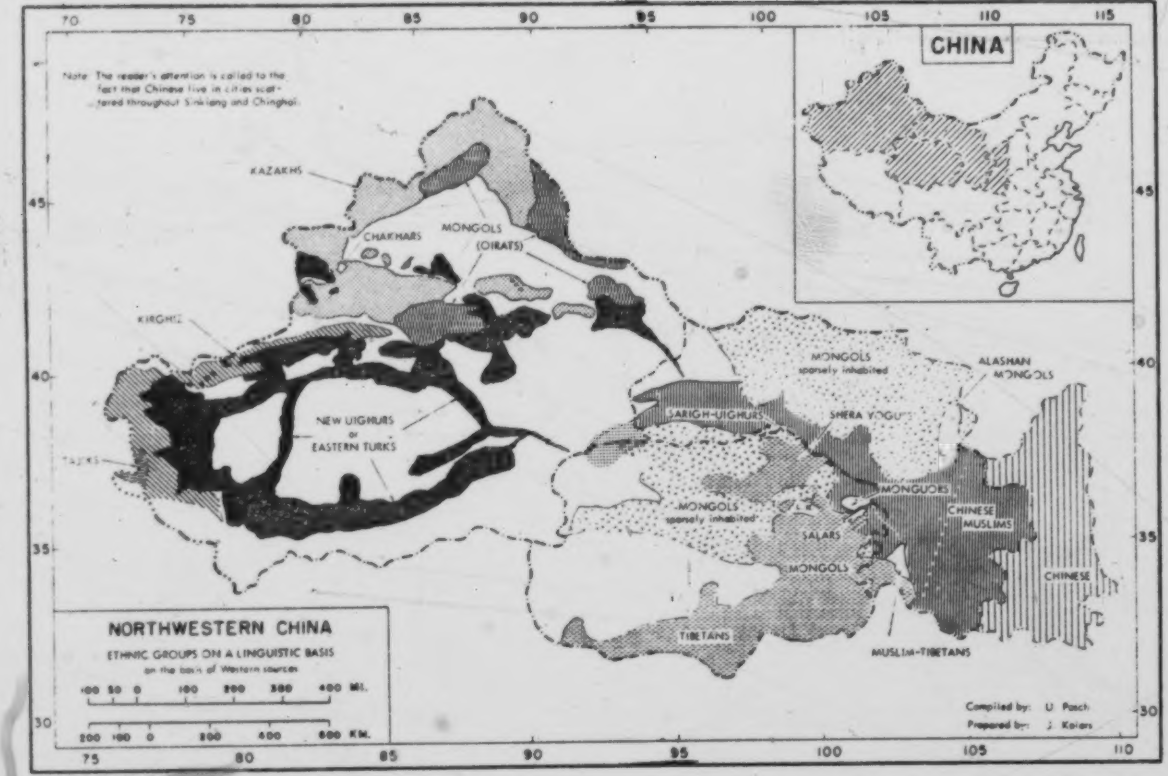
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Note: The reader's attention is called to the fact that Chinese live in cities scattered throughout Sinkiang and Chinghai.
KAZAKHS
CHAKHARS
MONGOLS
(OIRATS)
KIRGHIZ
NEW UIGHURS
or
EASTERN TURKS
TAJIKS
CHINA
MONGOLS
sparsely inhabited
ALASHAN
MONGOLS
SARIGH-UIGHURS
SHERA YOGURS
MONGUORS
CHINESE
MUSLIMS
MONGOLS
sparsely inhabited
SALARS
MONGOLS
TIBETANS
CHINESE
MUSLIM-TIBETANS
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 MI.
200 100 0 200 400 600 KM.
Compiled by: U. Pasch
Prepared by: J. Kolars

NORTHWESTERN CHINA

ETHNIC GROUPS ON A LINGUISTIC BASIS

on the basis of Western sources

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON.

following page 140

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Sinkiang AI1

S N I. Introduction

121 Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as
197 the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic
563 groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

S N The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

635 (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
161 (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

S A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

162 1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

S [114] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

II. The Turkic People of the Northwest

563 A. The New Uighurs (or Eastern Turks)

101 The Turks of Sinkiang call themselves after the cities where
they live, e.g. Kashgarlik, Turfanlik, Kuchalik, etc.... After
[668] the Communist Revolution the Communists introduced the term
Uighurs for the Eastern Turks, living in the Ili District. The term
563 later was adopted by the Chinese.

144 1. Physical characteristics

In one sense the Eastern Turks are the descendants of the old
[167] Uighurs who migrated to present day Sinkiang during the ninth century
[175] A.D., Later they had mixed with Indo-european tribes and
other Turkish tribes of the Chagatai Ulus (empire) and to a small
degree also with the Mongols. Thus, in the terminology employed
by E. Frhr. von Eickstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der
Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1934, the Eastern Turks show many europid
and some turanid racial characteristics, and only a slight degree
of mongoloid traits.

142 A more detailed description of the average physical type of
Eastern Turkestan is as follows: dark hair and eyes, (sometimes
141 lighter occasionally blue eyes), white or yellowish skin with sometimes
563 a slight inclination to brown, middle or tall stature, on the
average 1680-1700 mm., with a tendency toward obesity. The
head is definitely brachycephalic with a length-width index of 85-87,
a longish-oval face, with wide cheek-bones, a straight and
rather prominent nose, eyes lacking the mongoloid fold, and everted
lips.

2. Economy

433 The main occupations of the Eastern Turks are horticulture,
563 agriculture and animal husbandry. The Eastern Turks breed camels,
horses, sheep, and goats. They are famous for their fertile fruit-orchards,
which are mostly artificially irrigated. Handicraft is
fairly developed, but has no economic significance.

3. Religion

771 The Eastern Turks are Moslems, adherents of the Sun sect.
563 However, they display an attitude towards religion. This does
[793] not refer to the leading religious clergy who form a kind of a gentry
together with the nobility of the rich landowners.

4. Social organization

178 In contrast to the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks, the Eastern
614 Turks have lost their clan system and tribal organization completely.
563 There is no antagonism between the Eastern Turks and
186 the remaining Turkic tribes, although the nomadic Turkic tribes
563 exhibit some contempt of the Eastern Turks. However, there is
an old and remarkable hatred between the Turks and the Chinese,
due partly to the greater efficiency and industriousness of the Chinese.

212 5. Literature

a. literacy

563 The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently
[668] there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime
apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers
178 of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years,
563 this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but
primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 B. The Taranchis

563 The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and
genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs
175 who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century
and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called
Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This
[144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact
80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are
[142] mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively
short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and
175 later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed
619 their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz
619 (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
619 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important
role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols,
the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer
pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

563
4. Literature

538 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
[173] from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[212] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
771 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance,
the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit
strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101
1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved
southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[619] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[614] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical characteristics are
[144] concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for
the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans
at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[181] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[212] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many
Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from
[538] their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
[212] rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
[262] pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

563 1. Physical characteristics

[369] Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live exclusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
[142] the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
[141] heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

[463] The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
[369] Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
[871] tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
[191] and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
[771] call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
[101] They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
[197] of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

[131] 1. Physical characteristics

The Salars live in Hsun-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

563 Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on
[131] one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ
considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They
[142] are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and
level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows,
full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but
never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese
Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which
might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict
[771] Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the
[273] most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even
the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet.
[212] They are said to have received their present form of religion
[175] from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught
about 1750.

3. Social organization

[173] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habitat
during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated
from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes
[614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner
five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The
[197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and
[614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar
clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Moslems,
[771] and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the
17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

(175) When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were
only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three villages
(361) on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area
of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their
[178] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur
[212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.

[777) 1. Physical characteristics

Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively
563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval
142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However,
in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of
the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor
thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is
also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards
when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the
eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[556] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga
region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have
lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian
merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from
Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small
group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols,
but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their
new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
[197] ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken
in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[233] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[342] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.
[614]

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
142

S
563 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found
141 in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat
142 and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those
S of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

563 3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 4. History

563 The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats
175 of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they
S have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immi-
[167] grants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771
S and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of
S pastures and cattle.

563 5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
631 (1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

N B. The Mongols of Kansu

*563 1. The Mongours

101 a. history

M The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living
[101] in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but
N the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. The Mongours
*563 have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours
*175 came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thir-
[167] teenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already
M settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)
175 was founded. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the
[167] experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

N
*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)

b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

N

B. History of Islam in Kansu

*563 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
795 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
174 the religion of Islam took place during or after the Yüan dynasty
797 (1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as
early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm
states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to
China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte
der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to
N China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.

*563 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
795 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-
established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and
*175 Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of
50,000 men.

N The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire
[648] (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but
the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely.
Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

N When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950,
*[668] they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom
N and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
N read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so
[212] seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

S

•563

A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis

1. General characteristics

S In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iran-
[131] ian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers,
[181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very
[197] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely
related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a
[191] second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

563 2. Physical characteristics

142 Racially they are described as Europoids of the Dinaric sub-
[144] division. They have long, small faces with prominent and convex
noses, and their skulls in most cases show occipital bulges.
Their bodies are slender. Their hair is brown or black, but, in
a few cases, also blonde. Their eyes are usually brown, but not
as dark as the eyes of the neighbouring Kirghiz.

3. History and economic activities

563 The Tajiks have lived in this area for over two thousand years.
Their predecessors were the Iranian people who spoke the Saka
[186] language. Between the Tajiks and the Turks an excellent relation-
ship prevails, but there is an old animosity between the Tajiks and
the Chinese.

[241] Due partly to their skilled irrigation system, the Tajiks cultivate oats, vegetables and barley with great success.

B. The Russians

The Russians living in Sinkiang can be divided into three groups.
The first group consists of those merchants who maintained trade
with the cities of Sinkiang for more than a hundred years and who
usually lived in Chuguchak, Kuldja, Kashgar and Urumchi. The
[167] second group consists of refugees who fled Russia after 1918 and
became technical laborers, chauffeurs, electricians, miners, road
constructors and so on. The third group consists of those Russians
563 whom the Soviets sent to Sinkiang for political reasons. They main-
648 tained Soviet Consulates in all the major cities of Sinkiang and had
a very numerous staff. Soviet propaganda had a remarkable influ-
ence between 1920 and 1949. According to recent reports of Turk-
ish refugees, the Russians still have military detachments in
Sinkiang.

19 6) The Common Turkic spirant *s- is preserved as such in all five dialects; e. g. New Uighur, Uzbek: sač "hair", Salar saš́, Kirghiz: čač (< sač on account of assimilation), Tatar: čäč< säč, Kazakh: šaš< saš.

7) The Common Trukic consonant *š (in all positions) becomes s in Kazakh but remains š in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tatar and Salar, e. g. Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Tatar, Uzbek: baš "head", Kazakh: bas, Salar: paš́.

8) The Common Turkic consonant *-z (*-z-) is represented by z or became devoiced to s; e. g. Uzbek: qĭz "girl", Salar: kïs, Tatar: kêz.

9) The Common Turkic labial *b- is preserved as such in Uighur, Chagatai, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Tatar, but becomes voiceless p in Salar. In the latter it also can result in b or v due to sandhi; e. g. New Uighur and Chagatai: bår- "to give" Kirghiz and Kazakh: ber-, Tatar: bir-, Salar: ver-, but Uzbek: bir "one" becomes in Salar pir.

10) The Common Turkic labial *-p- inconsistently results in -b-, -v-, or -m-, or is preserved as -p-; e. g. Uighur: tobĭq "ankle", Tatar: tobuq, Kirghiz: topuq or tomuq.

11) The Common Turkic nasals *m, *n and *ŋ are generally preserved as such. The same is true for the Common Turkic liquids *r and *l.

3. Vocalism

As far as vocalism is concerned, only Tatar differs greatly from all the other Turkic languages spoken in Sinkiang.

1) The Common Turkic *u becomes o in Tatar: e. g. Uighur: bulut "cloud", Tatar: bɵlɵt (ɵ is a vowel between o and u).

2) The Common Turkic *a results in ä in Tatar; e. g. Common Turkic: čač- "to strew", Tatar: čåč-.

3) The Common Turkic *ĭ resulted in a reduced vowel ə̂ : e. g. kïz "girl", Tatar: qə̂z.

4) The Common Turkic *o resulted in u in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: bol- "to be", Tatar: bul-.

5) The Common Turkic vowels *ä and *e resulted in i in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kel- "to come", Tatar: kil-.

6) The Common Turkic vowel *ö resulted in ü in Tatar; e. g. Uzbek: köl "lake", Tatar: kül.

7) The Common Turkic *ü resulted in ɵ in Tatar; e. g. Uighur: kün "day", Tatar: kɵn.

These phonetic changes make it difficult for the Uzbeks, New Uighurs, Kirghiz and Kazakhs to converse with the Tatars.

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II. The Mongolian Dialects

A. The Western Mongolian or Kalmuck

In linguistic usage the term Kalmuck applies to West Mongolian or Oirat.

563 or Oirat. The Kalmucks proper are , or rather were, only a
[01] group of the Oirats (Western Mongols). As a people they have
[619) ceased to exist. The Western Mongols are divided into the
Torgut, Khoshut, Ŏlot and Dŏrbet (also called Dzungar) tribes.
175 As the pressure of the Chinese government became too strong
563 in the early 17th century some Khoshuts migrated into the Kokonor area. The Torguts moved into the steppes (1618) between the
Urals and the Volga and submitted to the Russians. In 1673 the
Dorbets, and in 1675 the Khoshuts, who had not migrated to the
Kokonor area, followed their lead. However by 1771 Russian
domination had become so oppressive that the Oirats decided on
a return migration. Only a small part of the 400,000 people and
their animals that wandered back arrived in their new home,
which was now called Dzungaria (Mongolian: zȍȕn gar "right
[131] wi[illegible]. One group settled in the eastern part of Tien-shan,
ano[illegible]mall group at the southern edges of the Gobi, at the
Kokonor and another in the Chinese province, Kansu.

19 Linguistically speaking, the following changes have occurred:

1) The Kalmuck language has contracted the groups *aɣu, *egü, etc. to long vowels:

Common Mongolian	Mongolian	Kalmuck
*caɣaɣan "white	čaɣan	tsaɣān
*qaǰaɣar "bridle	qaǰaɣar	ɣazār
*qaβalɣa "gate"	qaɣalɣa	χālɣə
*čïɣïraɣ < *tïɣïraɣ "massive"	čigiraɣ	tšīrəG "solid"
*daɣuda- "to call"	daɣuda-	dūn "voice"
*toɣarï- "to turn"	toɣori-	tȫr- "to go around"

2) I-breaking has occurred:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
biraɣu "calf"	bürǖ
miqan "meat"	maχṇ
sira "yellow"	šarə
milaɣa "lash"	maĺā

3) I-breaking did not occur in some instances; rather *i has assimilated the vowel in the following syllable:

Mongolian: ǰida "spear" Kalmuck: dži̇də < *ǰide

4) The Common Mongolian affricatives *č and *ǰ became in Kalmuck *ts and *z respectively. Only before *i did they remain as *tš and *dž:

Mongolian	Kalmuck
čaɣan "white"	tsaɣān
časun "snow"	tsasṇ
čisun "blood"	tsusṇ
ǰekegün "cold"	zekün
ǰelkei "thief"	zelkǟ

N
19 3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ɛ̃

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tʂ-, tʂh-, ʂ-, ʐ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

- a) Contrast between n- and l-
- b) Contrast between v- an d u-
- c) Contrast between s- and ç- before -i
- d) Contrast between -ɛ̃ and -əŋ

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197 Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i.e. Urumchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek), The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

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197 The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in scme Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different develepment in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ŋ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

V Concluding Remarks

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191 Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

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N tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bi-
191 lingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

S Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern
197 Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz
162 and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects.
The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are
unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language. We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

S Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in
563 Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When
the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World
S War, only very few older individuals were stillliving. The
[191] younger generation already spoke Turkish.

S Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border
[197] have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian
[197] language closely related to Persian.

S The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about
[167] 300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated
to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible
to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of
25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

S The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs,
N Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh
212 Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their
old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the
newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some
modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g.
Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes
ۆ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter
ا while Uighur writes it the following way ە

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Alashan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to religious purposes.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. The Nomads

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A. The Nomadic Turks (Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek)

556 The distinguishing feature of the social structure of the nomadic
611 Turks of the Northwest is that social status is acquired by wealth
428 (sheep, cows, camels and horses) or by descent. Descent among
the nomadic Turks is always patrilineal, and a modified form of
[425] ultimogeniture is found. As the sons of each family marry, each
one receives an equal share of the family's wealth. This includes
a winter pasture. Only the youngest son inherits the father's
property (tents, precious furniture, etc.).

621 The smallest social unit is the family; a number of related
563 families constitute an aul which is at the same time the migration
[592] unit in regard to pastoral nomadism.

[233] Unrestricted authority is held by the patriarch of the family.
[622] The patriarch of the most influential family (measured in terms
of wealth and family connections) becomes the chieftain of an aul.
621 A certain number of auls constitute the great aul. The latter
563 possesses a common property brand which is called tamga (the
614 tamga marks are to be found mostly on the left side of animals,
422 on tents and on gravestones. The tamgas are believed to be of
totemistic origin and therefore thought to be a very old institution.
Their purpose, obviously, is to distinguish and identify herds and
other property.

614 The great aul (which might also be called a sub-clan) is led
563 by a chieftain whose title is bäk, beg, biy, bey, or pex, depending
upon the Turkic dialect concerned. The chieftain of such a great
aul functions as a leader and as a judge whose duty it is to mediate and to appease in disputes between single persons, families
and auls. Several great auls constitute a clan, which is also led
by one of the bäks of the great auls. Several clans together form
614 a tribe which is led by a khan or sultan and finally two or three
619 tribes constitute a horde which in turn form the nation; e.g., the
563 Kazakh have four hordes, the Kirghiz two, etc. Sometimes it is
621 difficult to decide what constitutes a great aul or sub-clan and
614 what is actually a clan. An extended family may have the function
of an aul; a great clan may have the function of a clan; while a
596 declined clan only has the function of an aul.

563 A Kazakh Turk could define his position within his own people
[829] by stating that he belongs a)to the Turkic race b) to the Kazakh
nation c) to the Middle horde d) to the Kipchak tribe e) to the
Toru Aibgyr clan f) to the Shashli sub-clan (great aul) g) to the
Boshai branch (aul) and h) to the Janay sub-branch (extended family). For the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, a clan can be defined as a
563 social group which, by force of either real or putative consanguinity,

614 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into
563 a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after
the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers
of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed
clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named
after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg
Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan
names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk",
chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many
clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara
okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan
"wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by
[602] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is
[621] highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease,
or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of
the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by indiv-
[672] idual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action
[681] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Graz-
[423] ing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-
aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called
[565] aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are
called qara süyek "black bones".

563 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of
565 Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans
undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a
wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who
was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become
a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and
black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists
a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were
officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do
not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as
shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are
known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia
in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian
border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery
about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into
the higher stratum.

The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders
563 whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks
622 and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim,
and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputation,
[554] his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis
of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter
to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either
both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each
selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal
[681] is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort
of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser
payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries
or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander,
breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild
must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave,
and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent
are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for
killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a
man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice
their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he
must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and
pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in
the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications
from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price,
payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the
means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals
representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride
takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in
value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other
animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other household
[582] articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

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The Kazakh Nation

and its tribal organization

1) The Great Horde (Ulu-jüz)
    a) Tribe Uissün with the clans:
        Sikhym
        Jamys
        Tämir
        Shymyr
        Botpai
        Kurulus
        Bäsh tän bala (the five equal children)
        Sirgäli
        Ysty
        Otakshy
        Jalair
        Shapas
        Kangly
2) The Middle Horde (Orta-jüz)
    a) Tribe Argyn with the clans:
        Kara kesäk
        Shar Jitim
        Janshar
        Tört aul with aa) Atygai
                        bb) Altai
                        cc) Terbish
                        dd) Tabakty
        Borshy
        Karpak
        Basäntin
        Agysh Kalkanam
        Kanjygaly
        Kosugan
        Kök shal
    b) Tribe Naiman with the clans:
        Bulatty
        Tärs tamgaly
        Baganaly
        Sadyr
        Ergänäkti
    c) Tribe Kypchak
    d) Tribe Kiräi with three sub-tribes:
        1) Abak-Kuräi with the clans:
            Jantykai
            Jadyk
            Shiräüshi

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/The Kazakh Nation/

Itüli
Karakas
Mulku
Shubar aigyr
Mürkit
Itüngmün
Jüs taban
Sary bas
Shimoyin

2) Kara-Kirüi with the clans:
Murun
Bai Jigit
Tört aul

3) Tarakty

e) Tribe Kongrat with the two sub-tribes
1) alty ata kökting uly (the six sons of father Kök)
2) alty ata köktöngshü (six fathers Köktönshü)

3) The Little Horde (Kishi-jüz)
a) Tribe Alshyn with two sub-tribes:
1) Alim ulu with the clans:
Kara sakal
Kara kisük
Kitü
Tört kara
Shümökői
Shikti

2) Bai-ulu with the clans:
Adai
Sherküs
Tana
Bai-bakty
Maskar
Kysyk-kurt
Isün-tümir
Jappas
Alasha
Tastar

b) Tribe Jütti uru (the seven confederated tribes) with the clans:
Jagalbaily
Küptü
Tama
Tabyn
Kerüit
Telüü
Ramadan

Note: The Kazakh of Sinkiang belong mostly to clans of the Great Horde

The Kirghiz Nation

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1) Horde: The Right Flank (Ong)
   a) Tribe Bugu with the clans:
      Tselek
      Torgo
      Bapa
      Yeldün
      Talabai
      Serike
      Bor
      Dölös
      Kongrat
      Monguldur
      Sayak
      Udu
      Shykmayat
      Kala
      Assan-tukum
      Aryk-tukum
      Küchük
   b) Tribe Sary-bagysh with the clans:
      Saru
      Kala
      Monguldur
      Shykamat
      Sayak
      Assik
      Dölös
      Kongrat
      Mundus
      Kitai
      Yetigün
   c) Tribe Soltu with the clans:
      Yetigün
      Kuchu
      Saru
      Monguldur
      Mundus
      Assyk
   d) Tribe Edigüna with the clans:
      Dölös
      Saru
      Kongrat
      Monguldur
      Mundus
      Sayat (incomplete)
      Kaba
      Shykamat
   e) Tribe Chong-bagysh with the clans:
      Askaly
      Toro
      Macjak
      Ush-tamga
      Kandabas
      Kosh-tamga
      Kuan-duan
   f) Tribe Cherik ('army') with the clans:
      Ak-chubak
      Bai-chubak (incomplete)
2) Horde: The Left Flank (Sol) (no tribal names known)
   Known clan names are:
      Saru
      Besh-beren
      Mundus
      Töngtöröp
      Kuchu
      Kükürön
      Yetigün

Note: The Kirghiz who nomadize in Sinkiang belong mostly to the tribes Bugu and Soltu and Chong-bagysh.

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The Uzbek Nation

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1) **Tribe Kytai with the clans:**
    - **Sary Kytai (yellow Kytai)**
    - **Otartshy**
    - **Kanjygaly (with leather straps on the saddle)**
    - **Kosh-tamgaly (with double tamga)**
    - **Tarakly (with combs)**
    - **Balgaly (with hammers)**
2) **Tribe Kypchak with the clans:**
    - **Tort-tamgaly (with four tamgas)**
    - **Sary-Kypchak (the yellow Kypchak)**
    - **Togus Bai (the nine principalities)**
3) **Tribe Kyrkmün-Yüz with the clans:**
    - **Kara-koily (those with black sheep)**
    - **Karacha (blackish)**
    - **Kara-sirak**
    - **Chapanashly**
4) **Tribe Yüz (hundred) with the clans:**
    - **Karapcha**
    - **Tygyryk**
    - **Pürchüyüs**
    - **Koyan Kulakly (those with rabbit ears)**
    - **Ergünükli**
    - **Solakly**
    - **Khankhoja-kytaisy**
    - **Haji-kytaisy**
    - **Tuyakly (those with hoofs)**
    - **Sirgüli (those with ear rings)**
5) Tribe Kangly
6) Tribe Naiman
7) Tribe Ming
8) Tribe Künügüs
9) Tribe Mangyt
10) Tribe Uch-ru consisting of the three groups:
    - a) Mesit
    - b) Yaby
    - c) Tama
11) Tribe Sarai
12) Tribe Burkut
13) Tribe Allat
14) Tribe Bükhrin
15) Tribe Batash

[167] Note: It is impossible to say to which tribes or clans the Uzbeks of Sinkiang belong since most of them came to Sinkiang as single individuals and not in the form of a tribal migration.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century,
175 the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and
Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation.
Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex
[671] Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa
of Chingis Khan.

563 Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal.
596 Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted
[595] part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate.
[671] The order of precedence among the children depends on the
[851] social status of their mothers.

After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything,
563 including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of
428 his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male
line.

563 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed,
614 especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage
583 entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two
cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl
is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels,
563 horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to
586 take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak.
631 In Sinkiang there are
two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun
of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts
of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun
lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society.
It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The
565 nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers,
warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the
second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third
group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks:
a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung
565 and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the
554 rulingleader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a
taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles
exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero"
etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners
[651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

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• 563 In administering the khoshun, the khoshun-u jasak appoints an aide
631 who is called tusalakchi taiji. The administration of the military
affairs of a khoshun rests in the hands of the jakirokchi and his
aide who is called meiren-i janggin. After the death of the khoshun-u
S jasak his eldest son inherits the title and position. The aristocracy
[565] are highly respected by the kara kümün. The
members of the Oirat aristocracy belong to very old Mongolian
clans "otoks" which repeatedly had intermarried with Manchu or
S Tibetan aristocratic clans.
[668] The Communist Government in Peking has abolished the rights
[565] and titles of the Mongol aristocracy of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu.
[177]

C. The Nomadic Tibetans

N
*563 In terms of race, religion, language and origin, the nomadic
and the sedentary Tibetans are fundamentally one people. Yet the
184 great difference in subsistance economy has produced too many
distinctive cultural traits to permit discussion of the Chinghai
Tibetans as a whole. In recognition of this cleavage, the sedentary
Tibetans will be discussed separately as part of the general
sedentary population.

N
*563 The basic unit of social organization is the encampment or
"tent-circle" comprising a group of households from five to eighty
621 or more, who band together for cooperation and protection. Within
[592] the encampment the households may represent related families
but this is not necessarily the case. Frequently the encampment's
population will have been augmented by sedentary Tibetans who
have chosen life in the steppes. Moreover, changes in affiliation
do occur, so that one or more tents from one group may secede
N and join another encampment. According to Ekvall (1939) most
[622] frequently the actual authority rests in the hands of the rgan-po
(elders), who are men of substance and influence. There also is
an individual titular head, formally selected, who acts as spokesman
for the group.

N
*563 Membership in the individual black tent consists of the man,
his wife and their offspring. If the sons are married, they and
592 their wives sometimes are included as members of the tent.
Occasionally also the husband of a daughter will live with his wife's
people. However, a statistical survey by Yü Hsiang-wen revealed
that 38 per cent of the tents housed a nuclear family. In addition
to those linked by birth and marriage, the tent's members may
include one or several servant~~s~~ or hanger-on who help in the work
in return for the protection and hospitality of the tent. Perhaps
N it would be more accurate to say that the tent's inhabitants consist
[562] of the woman and her husband because the wife is the master
[422] of the tent and of its contents, just as she is the master of the
products of the herds, although the husband owns the tent and the
000 herds. In those cases where a man has more than one wife, each

N The clan /The Nomadic Tibetans/
*563 as such owns no property. It serves only as a geneological record
614 of importance in determining who are not legitimate marriage mates.
[421] The clans are patrilineal, but the clan affiliations of both parents
limit the choice of possible spouses.

N Beyond the larger unit, Ekvall states "...the Tibetans acknow-
*563 ledge no law or control beyond that of the tribe. About seventy years
648 ago some of these tribes paid token-taxes to the Chinese government
[651] as a sort of yearly tribute, but even that has gone out of practice; and,
though in a vague way the Tibetans acknowledge the 'emperor's
household,' i.e., the Chinese government... to all practical purposes Chinese law is completely ineffective in the region. Not only
are the tribes independent of the Chinese government but they are
N even more independent of each other...." (1939 p. 50-51.)

*563 Lhasa has almost as little influence as Peking. It has no poli-
792 tical control over the area, but it still remains the prime ecclesiastical authority and the goal of every prospective pilgrim-trader,
N i.e., every Tibetan.

*563 Despite the rigors, the feuds and the dangers of Tibetan nomadic
554 life, it presents a very strong attraction for both the nomadic and
556 the sedentary Tibetan. By attaching himself to a nomadic encampment a young and poor ex-farmer can become a social, as well as
a literal, climber. Success and prestige are measured in terms of
N influence and wealth. The high road to these is the road of the
[579] nomad, with his herds and his golden opportunities to acquire wealth
rapidly by removing it from its previous owner and by trading.
With his wealth, regardless of how acquired, he can be lavish with
N gifts and donations to a monastery. This lavishness combined with
[574] the ability to entertain guests liberally, adds to the individual's
influence and with influence he has prestige, therefore success.
The sedentary man or woman who succeeds in making himself
valuable to a nomadic tent is well on the way to becoming a self-made nomad.

II. The Sedentary Peoples

S
•563 A. The New Uighurs (Eastern Turks)
121 Some socio-historical considerations are necessary for a better
175 understanding of New Uighur social structure. No clear concepts about the transformation of the New Uighur to a sedentary
population have been advanced to this time. However, the following
hypotheses are presented. Until the eighth century the New Uighurs
(or simply the Uighurs, as they were known at that time), were a
predominantly nomadic people. After the collapse of the middle
Turkic empire in 744 A.D. Chinese influences upon all the Turkic
peoples in Sinkiang became increasingly stronger. This is brought

./The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification
meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life
and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had
strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved
from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs
had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in
840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to
[177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irriga-
tion practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level
of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
175 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
565 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high
554 status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient
labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation
canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual
water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of
labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was
entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper
[624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and
his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This
meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more
rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is
the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the
former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office
[771] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines
based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs,
since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion.
[582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a
member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
class system as a whole:
565 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to
[423] the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irri-
gated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to
thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or
no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass move-
ment.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to
the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All
their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the
landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politi-
cally, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the
strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the com-
munal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/The New Uighurs/

563 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their
565 wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes
the most profitable commodity.

563 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into
565 the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin,
793 Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment
[871] of the social structure. In its hands the education of the
youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in
shaping the character of the community. As the representatives
of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders
of the community, but they are also the administrators of
the land belonging to the mosque.

563 This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests
565 from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a
795 spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the
[423] mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares
for all those persons of the community who are unable to make
a living.

563 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the
565 New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner
441 Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade
centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It
is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems.
In their hands rest not only most economic activities,
but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the
merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials
who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators.
However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials
aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often
assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against
the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent
the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings
[591] are usually occupied by extended families who either form an
economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the
fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy
[595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants
[556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and
therefore become the masters of several family units. The
[851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as
equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In
[428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women occupy
[562] a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the
sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are
held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

/The New Uighurs/

563 **The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride**
[184] with a bride-price, but the sedentary Sinkiang bride is given
away by her father. In addition he even pays all wedding expenses.
[583] Marriages are arranged by a "go-between", who usually
[584] occupies a higher social position than either the bride or
[586] groom's families. As in all Moslem communities, divorce is
a relative simple matter for the male. Therefore, a considerable
[589] number of women without family attachments are present
in all Uighur communities. These unattached women are usually
engaged in employment as tailors, cooks, or weavers, and
thereby form a distinct social unit. As a rule they are identified
with the household of their employer.

563 In general, all Uighurs are individualistic in character.
621 However, the structure of the community with its irrigational
182 problems gives them a collectivist outlook on life in parts.
The families that form such an Uighur community are by no
[181] means bound together by kinship obligations. Their communal
cooperation rests exclusively on the fact that without collective
effort and labor the community would perish.

563 Prior to 1949, no organized youth groups existed in Uighur
[561] communities, since in any Islamic community the male child
begins to participate in the activities centered around the
mosque at a very early age. All other youth groups were discouraged.
[585] The young Uighur man becomes a full member of
the community at the time of his marriage. He will receive
[885] title to any land or water rights only upon the decease of the
eldest male member of his family. Until then both he and his
wife work as members of the extended family group. A young
merchant usually will act as his father's representative until
the father's retirement from business affairs or his death.

563 Merchants are bound together in "guilds". However, these
441 associations are not official institutions but were natural outgrowths
of the merchants' self-protecting interests. Should
any member of the community be guilty of not paying his debts,
he will be prosecuted by the members of such a "guild", even
though he may have moved to another community. In each
locality or city, the merchant's "guild" is organized under the
leadership of an aqsaqal, who functions as a public official.

563 Individuals of the Uighur community who do not inherit any
land, move to non-irrigated areas which nevertheless show
166 possibilities of being irrigable. These new irrigation projects
241 are usually undertaken as the collective effort of several
425 families who move as a group to such a new area. This practice
may explain population increases in Uighur occupied
areas.

563 New industries and the further development of natural
178 resources may have some influence upon Uighur social structure,
since these factors increase the wealth of both the

/The New Uighurs/

S
563 individual and the community. Natural resources to not seem
178 to be of prime importance in Sinkiang. However, their exploita-
[31] tion through free or forced labor will further break down Uighur
S kinship ties and thereby alter the social structure. In recent
[464] times large numbers of non-Uighur laborers have been intro-
duced into the area, further augmenting alien cultural elements.

S
563 Uighurs participating in small-scale home industries and
438 handicrafts are organized under the leadership of a Chong-usta.
622 Unlike the merchant's "guild" aqsaqal, he is not a public official.

S Under the Manchu system the Bäks (communal leaders) were
563 classed in five degrees of rank, ranging from the third to the
554 seventh degree of the Chinese official scale. 1. Ak'im Bäk-
[631] local governor; 2. Ishkhan Bäk -Assistant Governor; 3. Shang
[647] Bäk - Collector of Revenue; 4. Katsanatch'i Bäk - same as
[692] above; 5. 'Hatze Bäk - Judge; 6. Mirabu Bäk - Superintendent
of Agriculture.

S
As discussed previously, the Mirabu Bäk was also the offi-
[312] cial having authority over water rights and water distribution.
In practice the Manchu Amban, highest Manchu official in a given
area, chose the Ak'im Bäk who, in turn, chose his own subordi-
nates.

S
563 Farm units were organized as follows: Ten such units were
241 lead by an On-bashi, fifty by an Illik-bashi, one hundred by an
554 Yüz-bashi. The duties of the Bäks and Yüz-bashis mainly con-
sisted of keeping and collecting registers and taxes. This gov-
ernmental organization was abolished officially by the Chinese
Revolution in 1911. However, traces of this structure are
still found today.

S
563 The whole Uighur social structure certainly will undergo
668 far-reaching changes under the Communist government. How-
177 ever, at this time only hypotheses about these changes can be
advanced. As new cultural and political structures are imposed
on the society, kinship ties will be further loosened. The Uighur
communisty and its structure will take on new characteristics,
as old institutions disappear and new ones are introduced.
Except, perhaps, for the nuclear family, social groupings
will be brought more and more into accordance with the new
ideals of the society.

N
B. The Sedentary Tibetans

*563 Much that has been said about the nomadic Tibetans holds
equally true for their sedentary counterparts. Again the basic
[592] unit is the group of families living together. In the sedentary
[361] community, the village may be composed of from a dozen to
seventy, eighty or even more houses arranged adjacent to
N each other. The roofs of the normally two-storied buildings
[342] are close enough to form a pathway, and are used as such.

THE FAMILY

S
N I. Introduction

121 Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities.
59 In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group
563 and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a
discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying
to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has
to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family.
N In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one
779 of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential
59 of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful
183 member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly
581 a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment
S of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must
N enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does
[589] not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group
N and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family,
59 furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members.
182 The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he
[554] is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is
[589] likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society,
N there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably
59 best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and
779 Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you
183 sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting
from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of
family life.

S Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships
N within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or
593 wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis.
S A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward
N society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family,
[829] he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of
N the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put
592 in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control
593 completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S
N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
N 595 religious person will not exceed four wives.

779 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
S loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
N man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
779 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were
829 carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian
Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S
121 A. Family Organization
In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or
adoption and having a common budget and common property.
Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent
are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the
family are considered members of the household, but not members
of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters.
Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short
period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One
may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has
S more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealth-
ier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than
one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of
town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the
husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent).
The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as
S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
[562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same
roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure
of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar
obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[762] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already
proved her ability to bear children.

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/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563
592 The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide
562 the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically
before they establish their own households. Among the lower
[565] classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always
a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will
bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing
[582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up
a household for himself.

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary
563 Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the
592 family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper.
593 This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family
182 as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family
nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal
593 or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband
562 and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes
563 toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered
a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and
whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of
the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the
[671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and
[779] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be
generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society
and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is
living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
(868) and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
(584) his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
(425) to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
(428) property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
(191) ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded
as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The
son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
(586) it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which
even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the
mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father
has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is
mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out
of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly
see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The
(582) daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to
get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see
her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both
stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely
to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
(586) marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the
sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children
who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps
all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter.
The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the
parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

563 early age, and during their stay at home they are occupied in
593 different phases of the household.

563 The families of the lower classes often comprise economic units,
592 particularly among the farmers, artisans, and small merchants.
565 The family as a whole is engaged in the economic tasks of gaining
184 a livelihood. The father trains his sons to assist him in his
profession, and eventually to take over and inherit their father's place.
The father thus need not hire any assistants, but gets the necessary
aid from his own family. Usually one son stays with his father,
while the others, when they are old enough to establish their own
households, go and seek their fortunes elsewhere. But while
belonging to the nuclear family, all the sons participate in the
economic activities.

The well-to-do families do not, as a rule, comprise such units of production. Some of the sons may be studying and training for future positions as officials, while others may actively participate in their father's business.

563 Most families in the lower brackets, i.e., the majority, cannot
592 afford to send their sons to schools; they cannot afford the fees,
565 nor spâre the time in which their sons might be participating in
184 the economic activities. Thus the family takes upon itself the
86 additional tasks of educating the children and teaching them the
[801] religious customs and rituals, and social manners. The child
learns how to perform the most basic rituals of the Moslem
religion, to recite a few prayers in Arabic, and to behave according
to the local social customs and standards.

563 Larger kin groupings are hardly existent among the Turkic
602 sedentary population of the Northwest. Since the family unit's ties
are so loose, it is impossible to maintain relationships with
relatives who do not belong to the immediate family. No ties of
everyday life keep them together, and no economic obligations are
required from relatives, other than the most immediate ones. In
the well-to-do families, there might be some additional ties
involving property and inheritance, but otherwise there is little
closeness in the relationships of the members of the clan.

563 The immediate family is the only social unit to which the
593 individuals feel loyal and attached. However, under the circumstances,
684 these attachments are not too strong. This may constitute one of
[593] the main reasons that adultery and lack of loyalty to a spouse are
[586] not ~~as~~ severely regarded as they are by the orthodox Moslems.
[587] With the loose laws of marriage and divorce in Sinkiang, many
incidents of possible adultery are prevented because the husband
and wife are able to attain a legal separation and remarry. Where
cases of adultery do occur, the women are the main subjects for
punishment. The husband of an adulteress is entitled to punish his
wife and to cease to treat her kindly. There is not much that a
woman can do to a man if he has switched his loyalty.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 548 Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. [588] Travellers who are separated from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563 582 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563 584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. [583] The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563 585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

563 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious repre-
585 sentatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities.
Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and
food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony
is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the
bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the
ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's
[152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother,
who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure.
The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the
house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it
is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the thresh-
hold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days,
after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for
those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's fam-
563 ily, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after
585 she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her be-
885 coming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privi-
leges and social position which were barred to her as a very young
woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and
586 soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a di-
vorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his
wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being
present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although
not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request
a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious
reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evi-
dence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had
stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he
has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more
than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings
and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give
her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman
[587] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days,
after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such
restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day
on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

563 whether he is going to take all the children, only the boys, or none
586 at all. If the wife has to take care of the sons, the husband is
required to pay toward their maintenance.

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage
563 tie undoubtedly bear hard on the women in towns, who have no secur-
369 ity in their home life. They are subject to divorce at any time, and
586 then may be left with no proper alimony to take care of their needs.
The men are given great freedom to act according to whim. Cases
are frequent where husbands have legally deserted wives, leaving
them with one or more children to look after and insufficient or no
maintenance. Conditions are better in the country; but even in
towns the position of women is somewhat better than in most other
Moslem societies.

III. Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang

121 A. Family Organization

Among the nomadic Turkic Moslems of the Northwest the pat-
59 tern of family organization is somewhat similar to that of the
182 sedentary Turks, with two major distinctions: (a) there is an ele-
563 ment of stability in the family institution of the nomads, in spite
184 of the existent facility for dissolving marriages and contracting
new ones, and (b) the influence of Islam is not nearly as strong
as it is among the sedentary peoples. These differences are mani-
fested in all aspects of family life, including its nuclear structure.
The family unit consists of a man, his wife, and their unmarried
563 children. Cases of divorce and temporary separations are much
586 more rare than among the sedentary Moslems, and consequently
184 the divorcee or separated daughter that often belongs to the seden-
tary family is absent in the nomadic family. Each family occupies
563 its own tent. The tents of the married sons generally are close
592 to their parents' tent, and close contact between the various house-
342 holds is maintained.

In size, nomadic families equal those of the sedentary popu-
563 lation. Many children, especially sons, are considered a mani-
592 festation of God's blessings. Due to the way of life and dependency
[162] on economic cooperation the relationships within the family are
[184] maintained on a much closer basis. The wife shares much more
actively in the economic burden. She takes care of the house,
milks the animals, utilizes their products in many different ways
(milk products, hides, wool, etc.). The husband's life is less
burdened by economic tasks: taking care of the cattle, guarding
them, setting the camps, selling, bargaining and hunting. The
[593] relationship between husband and wife is not as greatly influenced
by the edicts of Islam. The women are less subject to the complete
authority and mercy of their husbands, and to limited social con-
tacts.

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 Children and parents relationships differ also. They are charac-
593 terized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children
[369] of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independ-
[434] ence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but
no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children.
[868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage
the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc...
they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having
no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in
preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the
future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and
necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relation-
ship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance
to her husband's family.

563 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of
592 production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation.
It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help
of their children and it is rare that their children would be able
to become economically independent. Moreover, the family frame-
work provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for
the individuals comprising it.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

184 Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar,
562 women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper.
583 Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) how-
[586] ever, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his
father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten
to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When
563 a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be
584 expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth
him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is
known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a
[583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which
precedes it.

563 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached
585 the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's
people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is
announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the
background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known
as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other cere-
mony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his
own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of
two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an
aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans,
milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

S 563 585 to live at his own home if its near, otherwise the bride's parents lend him an aq-oi. He visits the bride every week or ten days. These visits are supposedly secret. Her father must not see the bridegroom entering or leaving his bride's tent.

When the aq-oi is ready, the bridegroom takes the bride away to his own place, over some show of resistance made by the girl's relatives.

S 563 586 After a year, the girl can divorce her husband by returning the price paid for her. Divorce is not very common among the nomads, and the price paid for it is much higher than that among the Turkis of the plains. The bride's father would usually be very reluctant to return the price paid for his daughter except for extremely grave reasons.

IV. The Chinese Moslems

N 121 59 [779] Little information is available on the family structure and relationships among the Chinese Moslems. The family relations, as in all other Moslem communities, are supposed to be regulated by the Shari'a (Moslem law) but the details of the code are not well known to the Chinese Moslems, nor are they observed with great care as far as they are known. What alterations have been produced by the influence of the surrounding Chinese is not known from the meagre amount of available information. Many of the Chinese
N 769 *563 778 Moslems observe the traditions of ancestor worship that form such an important unifying factor in Chinese family life. Often they possess ancestral tablets which stand side by side with Moslem religious objects.

N *563 582 797 Intermarriage between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems occurs often under certain conditions. The fact that the woman is not Moslem is not an obstacle to marriage with a Moslem; it is even thought to be meritorious to bring women of other faiths over to the true religion by marrying them. On the other hand, Moslem women are strictly forbidden to marry a man of another faith. The non-Moslem women who marry Moslems, although officially converted to Islam, in many cases bring their religious customs to the family, and the children are reared with both traditions and beliefs.

N *563 585 586 793 184 The main differences between the Chinese and Chinese Moslems appear to be in the ceremonies of marriage and divorce. A Moslem priest usually is invited to preside over these occasions. In addition to the Chinese-style ceremony, the Moslem priest will recite a few prayers over the newly-wed couple or will give an additional affirmation to the dissolution of an unsuccessful marriage.

N *563 184 In general, the Chinese Moslems have much more in common with the Chinese than they do with their Turkic coreligionists. The law and traditions of the country play a more important part in governing the family relations, than the religious law.

N 121 *563 Han Chinese have taken up farming. Many of them have also become small business men dealing in camels, sheep, oxen, furs, skins, et cetera. Often those who have settled in cities are restaurant owners. The Moslems are faithful followers of their religion. Although they have taken on the Chinese way of life, the people have always kept their own identity.

S 101 487 In early times Sinkiang was referred to as Hsi-yü (the Western Region) or as T'ien-shan nan-lu and T'ien-shan pei-lu (Road South of the Heavenly Mountains and Road North of the Heavenly Mountains). These names referred to the natural caravan highways which progress westward from Chinese Kansu on either side of the Heavenly Mountains, weaving along and through the watered and cultivated areas.

S • 563 The region has the most colorful mixture of race, custom and habit in existence. There are the dark-bearded Uighurs from Kashgar, in long, bright-colored coats, with their veiled and white-clothed women; there are booted Kirgiz from Taghdumbash Pamir; there are the outcast unveiled women from Maralbashi and foreigners from Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Russian Turkestan.

S 178 563 Here the passage of time seems to bring little change. Mixed as they are, the tribesmen of the steppes cling to their time-honored ways, each race maintaining its own traditions. Religion runs the gamut from Mohammedanism and Lamaist Buddhism to Christianity. It is a land of mosques and lamaseries, of centuries-old irrigation ditches, of "Turban Heads" and Chinese Moslems. It is an open land of lean Kalmuch nomads and hard Kirgiz frontiersmen, of Kazakh cowboys galloping across the steppe.

N S 121 *563 Of all these peoples in the Northwest, we have selected for our study seven groups, namely: the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, the Kirghizs, the Kazakhs, the new Uighurs or Eastern Turks, the Mongours, the Tibetans and the Western Mongols. The Mongols of Alashan and Edsingol are now part of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their value system and life patterns do not differ appreciably from those of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Reference is therefore made to the same section in the IMAR Handbook.

III. Social Values and Patterns of Living of the Peoples in the Northwest

N *563 *175 [463]

A. The Han Chinese

The Han Chinese of the Northwest region are predominantly farmers, artisans and merchants. During China's era of Imperial government, and during the Nationalist period as well, the region and its borders have often been involved in war with the

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.
N
*563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition.
769 The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who
have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details
of family life and holds the members together, not so much
by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility
within the clan.

N
*563 At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
592 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance
[796] to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships
[184] which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[593] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in
it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male
Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted
to him, to hand down to posterity.

N
*563 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
796 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
184 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people
of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals
N
and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is
*563 more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
829 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude
N
toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary
[558] thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so
essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese
people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals
for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite
resulting financial worries.

S
N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

● 563 1. The People

101 Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the
Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu
Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word,
but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese
Moslems.

S
[161] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[197] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers.
In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they
distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who,
except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated
by the Chinese.

S
N
563 The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
181 than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered
the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other
Northerners are never without it.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

000 Northerners are never without it.

S N 2. Patterns of living

563 a: Dwellings

342 Houses of the Chinese Moslems are similar to those of the
171 Han Chinese in style and construction. Externally their mosques
S N resemble Chinese temples. There is always Arabic writing
563 carved in wood above the entrance of the mosque to mark its
346 identity. But in Sinkiang the style of mosque architecture is not
S Chinese, and the buildings as a rule have minarets.

N 563 Village life is very much like that of the Chinese. People live
342 in mud huts with lattice woodwork, windows and simple furnishings.
35 Well-to-do people in cities and towns, where they usually
[369] congregate in separate districts, live in Chinese style houses
[531] distinguished by the carvings on the windowframes, doorways
S N and woodwork inside, which are of elaborate Arabic design quite
[212] different from Chinese wood carving. In both rich and poor
homes the ancestral shrines and tablets are missing, and in
their places are scrolls with Arabic writings or passages from
the Koran. In the northern and western parts of this region the
living quarters are simpler. There are colonies of flat-roofed
S mud houses built along the cliffs.

N b. Food

563 Food habits are similar to those of the Han Chinese, though
262 Moslems do not eat pork and consider it unclean. Meat is a luxury
184 for the poor. Mutton is preferred, though beef is also used.
S In the western part of the region the very poor use horse meat,
563 though it is forbidden by their religion. Vegetables are a part of
262 their daily diet. In the northwest part of Sinkiang, fruits such as
184 apricots, plums, mulberries, melons and grapes are available,
as well as smaller quantities of pomegranates, apples and pears.

S N Mutton fat, butter and linseed oil are used for cooking. In
563 eastern Sinkiang the style of cooking is influenced by the Persian,
252 Chinese and Turkish styles. The Chinese Moslems abstain
from wine, and are not much addicted to the smoking of opium.
They do not like to eat with non-Moslems, especially the Han
Chinese, because they consider pork eaters unclean. Strict followers
of the religion even avoid eating utensils which have been
used by others, and carry their own bread when they travel. No
meat may be eaten unless the animal was killed according to
S prescribed religious ritual.

N The style of dress for both sexes is generally the same as
563 that of the Chinese except for the headdress. The Dungan men
291 can be recognized by their white skullcaps, embroidered with a
faint design in colored thread, whereas the usual cap of the Turk
or Kazakh is colorful and more richly embroidered. Some Dungans
dress in gray and wear white or blue caps. For ceremonial
occasions or worship, the Imams, Ahungs and Mullahs, who sit

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 291 S N [292]

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

S N [369]

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

S N 563 463

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

S N 563 265 262

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

S N 563 463 779 784

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

S N 563 186 183

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

S N 563 571 186 183 [576] [196]

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

S N 563 183 779 431

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 [651] religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became [illegible] debted for good reason, making holy war to defend the peo[illegible] and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group,
superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials,
their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius
has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to
conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did
so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects
S N [778] of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other
and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a
united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S a. Religious rites

N According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to
563 pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and
779 midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese
782 Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but
pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be
performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go
to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer
S (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the be-
N [793] lievers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular,
and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four per-
S sons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray.
N [562] In some places, women have their own mosques and women
Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always
worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there
may be a number of women gathered together.

S
N The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious
563 ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before
779 worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance
782 have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by
783 touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not
killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed.
N During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset,
563 and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also
796 forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem
785 quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast,
779 [203] lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary
food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a
feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

S b. Naming

N Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given
563 a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this oc-
553 casion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a
852 male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the
occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To
S arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face
N [788] toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

S N 563 852 [553] [788]

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

S N 563 585 [171]

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

N *563 585

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

S N 563 582 585 [783]

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

S N 563 764

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

S N 563 763 769

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

S N 563 763 769 making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

S N 563 764 The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

S N 563 796 e. Festivals and holidays

Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

S N 563 795 668 177 5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

S N [423] In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

C. The Kirghiz

563 1. The people

[771] [642] [622] Taking Tien-shan as a whole, the Kirghiz form the leading element of the population. They are Mohammedans of the Suni order, but they are not strict followers of their religion. Their system of government is patriarchal, control of the different sections being vested in tribal elders who enjoy almost unlimited authority. The elders (Manap) are chosen by the people, and regarded with honor and respect.

[233] [241] The people are nomads whose main occupation is cattle raising. Only a small proportion of the population engages in farming.

563 2. Patterns of living

342 a. Dwelling

[184] The Kirghiz do not live in houses. The poor live in shelters made of branches under trees or against overhanging rocks. The rich live in tents, smaller and less ornate than the Mongolian yurt but more solid with thick layers of felt. A light tent is called an aq-ai. It stands a gale very well, as the shape is such that a high wind presses the structure even more firmly to the ground. To make it more stable, a large stone is placed in the tent and the woodwork of the roof is anchored to it by a rope.

[354] [353] [251] [231] [353] The shape and structure of an aq-ai are similar to those of the Mongolian yurt, but the interior arrangement differs. A fire always burns cheerily in the middle and a cauldron of mash simmers upon it. At the far end is the kitchen, which is screened by gaily colored mats of reeds tightly wound with dyed wool. Here the housewife stores her milk, cream and curds in vast wooden bowls. When the weather is wet, a row of young lambs occupies one corner of the tent. They are tethered closely to a rope pegged down along the walls. Saddlebags, sieves, hats, wool, coats, skins and so forth are hung along the tent walls. Piles of rolled-up felts and rugs occupy about a quarter of the circumference of the tent. The wealth of the owner may be guessed from the size of the piles.

563 342 352 353 [415] The interior decoration in the tent of a wealthy Kirghiz is often artistic. The walls are hung with embroideries made by the women, and the ground is covered with carpets. There are also pillows covered with multi-colored chintz of Chinese or Russian manufacture. Furniture is not generally used. There is an occasional table, a few copper pots and pans, and some brass jugs used for boiling water and making tea.

563 b. Food

262 252 Staple foods for the Kirghiz are barley, bread, milk and its products, such as sour cream and qurut, a kind of cheese. In most tents there are cauldrons of brewing mash, a mixture of flour and milk. Qurut is made by drying sour cream in goatskin.

/The Kirghiz/

563 When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and
262 supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds
[484] on the mountainsides.

Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The
[735] poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate.
291 Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of
583 a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the
562 bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three
hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their
563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's
584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by
583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first
annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been
563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper
585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents
[582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage.
The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away
585 from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two
591 to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish
a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may
[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but
the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The Kirghiz/

000 before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger. At this
563 stage, if the bride has proved to be unfaithful, the boy's father
586 may demand the bride price back and break off the marriage.

563 When the tent is finished, the bridegroom takes it and his
591 bride to his own home. If, after one year, the bride finds her
586 married life unsatisfactory, her father may return the bride
price to her husband and the couple is divorced.

4. Work and Leisure

563 General work around the tent is done entirely by women. The
462 women are strong, healthy, and energetic workers. They not
181 only do the housework, but they also milk the yaks, sheep, cows
and goats, weave rugs, make rope and build and pitch the tents.
Men, though strong and able to endure great hardships, incline
[517] toward indolence. They like to play the guitar far into the night.
[534] Nevertheless, they also have work to do. They cultivate the
barley fields and look after the safety of the flocks and herds on
the steep mountainsides.

563 The Kirghiz are sports-minded. Their most common game is
526 baiga, in which the carcass of a sheep or goat is the object of
contention. Forty or fifty contestants, mounted on strong horses,
strive for possession of the carcass. It is every man for himself. One man dashes forward with the carcass and the others
pursue him, trying to tear it away from him. If he is unhorsed,
by fair means or foul, he must yield up the trophy. A fast,
furious, dangerous game, the Kirghiz love it. In it they display
their remarkable horsemanship.

563 The Kirghiz love music and dancing. Only the men dance. The
535 music is provided by a dulcimer, a native banjo and a drum, and
534 much form and ceremony are involved in the dance.

D. The New Uighurs

563 1. The people

The New Uighurs are also called the Eastern Turks. They
[162] comprise about seventy per cent of the population in the southern
part of Sinkiang Province, and some live north of the Tienshan
[131] Mountains wherever the soil is fit for agriculture. They are a
farming people.

563 The New Uighurs are noted for their gentle character, their
honesty, hospitality and complaisance. Criminal offenses among
181 them are very rare; they look upon such crimes as murder,
[674] arson and robbery with a sort of horror. Their houses are never
[342] locked, and their grain is stored in outside repositories.

[251] They are a people who love to make music. Their most common instruments are the dotou, a two-stringed guitar, a six-
[534] stringed mandolin and the tambourine. Boys and young men sing
563 wherever they go, and there are singing beggars and wandering
533 minstrels. The people have love songs, ballads, comic ditties,

563 songs of poverty and exile, and popular songs of various kinds.
[533] The New Uighurs are great believers in the efficacy of local
[776] saints, and there are innumerable shrines all over their region
[778] dedicated to saints and heroes.

2. Patterns of living

563 a. Dwelling

342 Most of the people live in small hud houses called öy, or
[184] sometimes hānă, which resemble the simple earth, stone and
reed-mat homes of the poor farmers of North China. Rich people live in well-built houses with courtyards and gardens.

The typical design of the house is a flat roof upon which
small openings are left to serve as windows. The windowframes
are equipped with folding shutters, and are closed at night dur-
[354] ing the winter. The window openings are so small they admit
little light, and the interior is always in semi-darkness. Floor
[352] and walls are packed with reed mats and earth. The rear of the
room is set apart by a partition of squared beams, and has a
raised floor. This elevated section, its floor covered with reed
mats and thick felt, serves as the bed and also the dining table.
Most of the family's time at home is spent on this elevation. The
door of the house is so low that one must bend down to pass
through it. Almost every room has a chimney.

The flat-topped roof of the house is used for drying grain and
[251] other agricultural products. Each house also has a veranda on
[352] which plank beds are constructed for use during the summer.
Couches of wood or clay under the trees also serve as sleeping
accommodations during hot weather. A house with a courtyard
[351] is surrounded by a wall of earth. In the southern area, the gar-
[184] dens of the homes are surrounded by hedges.

b. Food

563 Wheat and corn are the staple foods of the people. Rice is a
262 luxury used only for entertaining and festival occasions. Meat is
preferred to vegetables, and mutton to beef. Chickens, ducks
and other fowl are eaten, but not considered especially desirable. The famous Turfan raisins and Hami (Qomul) melons supply large quantities of fresh fruits for these people. Mare's milk
[272] is drunk extensively, and the noble drink called kumis, horse
[273] milk wine, is considered the most healthful of all sour milk concoctions.

563 For entertaining, camel and horse meat, beef and mutton are
262 served with fresh fruits, crystalized sugar and kumis. Meats
252 may be boiled or roasted. The most common dishes are grilled
mutton and kidney, and cold boiled mutton and liver with bread.
The favorite dish, called pilav, is made of the fattest mutton or
beef cut into small pieces and cooked with rice, chopped carrot,
onion, garlic and seedless raisins, cooked in a large cauldron.
[264] Liquid foods are eaten with wooden spoons. Other foods, including thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

c. Clothing

563 291 Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

563 276 d. Tobacco

Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 a. Marriage

562 58 Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy,
gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the
women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik
toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears
with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi
konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the
home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a
tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would
rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan
than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:

[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

563 slow-witted fellow. A woman who is quick-witted, energetic and
587 above average in looks can exchange a useless or uncongenial mate for a better one with no difficulty. A New Uighur beauty can count her past fancies by her successive husbands, just as a horse-racing enthusiast in America dates his past life by Derby winners.

d. Ceremony of birth

563 843 844 The expected arrival of a child is kept a secret from all but the husband, as it is believed that publicity may make the birth difficult or even dangerous. The husband secretly summons the midwife, who utters some words during the delivery to drive away evil spirits and protect the life of the newborn.

563 846 On the second or third day after the birth of the child, the parents are visited by close friends and relatives. All bring gifts to the baby. Men traditionally hope for male offspring, women for daughters. A newborn boy generally receives a cow, horse or sheep from his grandfather.

563 When the father summons a Mullah to name the baby, it is
852 the occasion for showing the child to close friends and relatives.
When the baby is twenty days old, he gets his first bath. He is
[553] washed again after forty days, when his head is shaved for the
[854] first time. For the shaving, a few boys from five to ten years of
[302] age are invited, and one boy of gentle character whose parents are both living is selected to perform the gesture of shaving. The actual shaving is done by a man.

e. Funeral and burial

563 New Uighur ceremonies regarding death are more elaborate
764 than the Kirghiz ritual, though both peoples are of the same religious faith. When death occurs, relatives and close friends of the family are informed and invited to take part in the prayers and share the grief.

563 The corpse is left in the room where death occurred, and no
764 one is allowed to touch it. When the day of the funeral is set,
793 three mullahs are summoned to perform the ablution rituals. They undress the body and place it on folded doors. One pours water on the body, the second washes it and the third turns the body. If the deceased is a woman, the ablution rites are performed by an old religious woman. During the rites, no one but the mullahs may be present in the room.

When the body is cleansed, the mullahs dress it in three white cotton shirts. The inside shirt is short and has an opening in the front. The second is of the same style, but reaches to the knees. The shroud, which has an opening for the face, is placed over the shirts and tied at each end, leaving only the face uncovered.

Then the mullahs carry the body on a felt into another room and place it on a bed, and family members, relatives and friends

563 come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids
764 a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition
[793] seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may
look at the face of a dead woman.

Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second
[184] day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial
until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to
assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a
[793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads
[783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the
mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk
in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany
the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed
[171] and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz.
563 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the
764 mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the
782 deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because
[784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house
in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-interment
[184] prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs
are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's
social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and
765 poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black
or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased
do not shave their heads.

Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the
[782] deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the
dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and
again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close
friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes
their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is
offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition,
562 it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of
576 etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the
wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit
near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to
hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands.
Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This
does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves
by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence
compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by
576

563 mutual courtesy. In addressing one another they use the polite
576 form of you. The same politeness is demonstrated between wife
and husband. Parents use the equivalent of "thou" to address
their children, servants or workers. Upon meeting a friend or
entering a friend's house they say "As-salam Alaikum," and the
reply is "Alaikum as-salam." They inquire about the health of
the family, then bow and shake hands. Only women kiss when
they meet, and only if they are related. When they part they say
"Khosh," or "Allah Akbar," meaning, "The Lord is great."

563 The more religious women pray before eating or starting to
576 do something. Washing the hands before and after meals is mandatory.
574 Bowls of water and towels are provided at a feast or
264 banquet table, and hands are washed between courses. When a
[782] hostess serves refreshments to a guest, the guest rises, bows
and says "Ishqallah," meaning thank you. Polite speeches are
made by both host and guest on the guest's arrival and departure.
Good manners are regarded as important.

4. Superstitions and taboos

563 The New Uighurs attach superstition to almost everything.
771 They believe in witches, ghosts, charms and talismans. As
mentioned before, they believe in the powers of local saints and
[776] heroes, to whom they have dedicated innumerable shrines, and
[778] certain superstitions connect these shrines with the curing of
disease and the bearing of children. Ancestor worship is also
[769] strong among them, as shown by the popular names of the
shrines.

[756] The people are also firm believers in witch-doctors, and in
[755] magic powers that cure disease, induce love, or sow enmity
between people. Ghosts are much feared, especially the ghost of
[789] a Chinese. People regard the Urumchi Road from Kashgar as a
563 haunt for Chinese ghosts. They believe that if one is haunted he
771 may be able to propitiate the ghosts by leaving money on his
775 doorstep overnight. If the money is gone in the morning, the
ghosts have taken it and will make no further trouble. They also
[782] have a superstitious dread of snakes, and believe that if one
[825] kills a snake, its mate will haunt him.

563 The New Uighurs try to maintain an everlasting fire in their
fireplaces, to bring prosperity to the house. Ashes from the
372 fireplace are carried out at night or before sunrise, for to clean
[777] the fireplace and take out the ashes during the day may bring
misfortune to the household. They fear thunder, and during a
563 thunderstorm they pray for deliverance from threatening danger.
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5. Religious celebrations and festivals

563 Like the festivals of Moslems the world over, the festivals of
796 the New Uighurs are deeply colored with religious influence.
Besides Fridays, which are generally celebrated, the people
have only three main holidays, Rōse-häyt, Kurban-häyt and

/The New Uighurs/

563 Yengi-Yil (New Year).

796 Rōse-hăyt, a solemn holiday, is celebrated in the ninth month
according to the Moslem calendar, and lasts three days. The
[785] holidays follow the thirty days of Rōse fast, which resembles
the Ramadan fast discussed previously. During the three days,
everyone stops work and visits friends and relatives. In each
[574] household, guests are served meats, boiled eggs, fruits, all
[262] kinds of cakes and sweets, and tea.

Kurban-hăyt is also a three-day holiday. On the first day,
the orthodox go to the mosques at sunrise and pray for two
[184] hours. After they return to their homes, every adult male in a
[782] rich family kills a sheep. Among the poor, only the head of the
house kills a sheep. These sheep are sacrificed to Allah, who,
[775] they believe, will make their journey to the Garden of Eden
easier after they die. Then there is celebration and feasting.
Musicians play all day long in the streets and bazaars, while
both men and women dance.

Yengi-Yil, the New Year, begins with the first lunar month, and is also celebrated for three days. No services are performed in the mosques at this time. Musicians play, and there are singing, dancing and feasting throughout the community. It is the custom for women to sing on swings constructed for the occasion in the bazaar.

563 Nazara is a celebration observed by the wealthy in connection
796 with weddings, birth and circumcision. The host holds open
house for his friends, and gives bread and meat to the poor. As
184 the rich are enjoying the host's hospitality, the poor are clus-
[735] tering at his gate awaiting the distribution of food. Each receives a large loaf of bread and a slice of meat, and is expected to call down the blessings of Allah upon the benefactor. The hospitality and charity extended by the host are considered to enhance his merit.

6. Leisure, music and dancing

563 When the crops are gathered and the field work is completed,
517 both men and women like to visit the bazaars in the neighboring
533 towns. They go for the entertainment, and for the news and gos-
535 sip circulating in the bazaar. The well-to-do give evening parties for their friends and relatives, and always there is an orchestra at the party, to play for singing and dancing. According to custom, only two persons dance at a time. They dance slowly and smoothly, with no quick or lively movements. Their dancing is very graceful, but monotonous. Party refreshments are cold meats, pastries, fruits and tea.

563 Although most of the New Uighurs lead a hard and humdrum
517 type of life, they become gay and animated when they sing and listen to music. They exploit every possible occasion to have a good time—weddings, birthdays, circumcisions, even ablution

S
563 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy
517 themselves.
S 7. Guardians of national customs
563 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are
624 Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The
554 people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district
577 Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded
honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals
and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods
sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In
the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women
veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 1. The people
563 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang
K Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as
173 people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of
mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough
and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but
the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven
away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became
the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another
legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants
of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern
563 part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They
K are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when
526 they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to
(131) their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all
(241) kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic
563 way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite
K times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.
771 2. Patterns of living
782 a. Dwelling
S As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods
563 in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer
K they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are
221 busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops
and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for
rest and relaxation.

S During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape
563 of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols,
K except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh
342 tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S 563 of stable construction. The common people build their winter
K tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud
342 or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the
wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one
K room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have
[556] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of ani-
[184] mals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic rea-
K sons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor
[361] to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in
one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs.
K They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to
262 have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage.
[171] Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk,
[272] horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities.
Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for
563 color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and
K their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in
291 white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather
[171] belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver
[556] or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are
hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-
K in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the
[885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family,
and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

S 3. Social values, customs and etiquette

563 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same
K as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding
769 ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the
171 anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a
wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. K [556] [554] In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

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Monguor AE9

/The Kazakhs/

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4. Work and leisure

The division of labor between men and women is like that of the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing and dance *and otherwise enjoy* themselves. Because of their hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their dance is simple.

S 563 K 526

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep." Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N *563 M 131 361 311

F. The Mongours

1: The people

The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the valleys have been opened to cultivation. N *563 M 614 622 [175] The people were formerly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N *563 M 144 174

The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers. One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols; another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-

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/The Tibetans/

*563 764 [534] are not permitted to attend. The body is carried by friends and relatives to the customary spot, and on the way, those in the procession blow whistles to attract the vultures. The clothes are removed from the corpse, and one of the men slits open the chest and belly to attract the birds. After they have eaten these areas, the birds are driven away and a man cuts the flesh from the bones and places the small pieces on the ground. The birds eat it. When only the skeleton is left, the mourners crush the bones with rocks so the birds can eat them. When nothing remains the mourners are satisfied. The deceased has been proved a worthy person.

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4. Popular beliefs

When a person falls ill, a doll of clay is made to resemble him and dressed in similar clothes. The sick person's name is written on the doll, and it is thrown out onto the steppe. It is believed that the chiktur (evil spirit) will find the doll (khuner dzolik) and be deceived into thinking the sick person has died. He will then leave the patient in peace.

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N *563 787 Tibetans are great believers in fortune telling. One way to learn one's fortune is to give his date of birth to a fortune teller, usually a lama, who will consult his rosaries and then advise on such matters as the best days for going on a pilgrimage, the possibilities of getting a job, or the advisability of starting a business.

Another way is to whisper one's thoughts to a wooden fire poker, then secretly place it near someone. The fortune can be deduced from the conversation of that person.

A professional fortune teller asks his customer to place his hand in a sleeve, then tells his fortune from the finger joints. The third joint of the index finger means lion, the third joint of the middle finger, wolf. Both these joints may indicate a journey. The first joint of the index finger means mountain, which is interpreted as continuous living in the same place.

N *563 533

5. Recreation

The Tibetans have no form of organized amusement or recreation, but they love to sing. The young sing mostly love songs, which are composed spontaneously as they are sung. They have religious songs in praise of Buddha. They even express congratulations and good wishes in song.

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H. The Western Mongols or Torguts

Values and customs of the Western Mongols are based on the same traditions as those of the Eastern Mongols (See IMAR Handbook). Some differences exist, however, that are worthy of discussion:

The Torguts are noted for their courage and warlike character, but they are a friendly, good-humored, helpful people. As 000

/Western Mongols or Torguts/

563 As their forefathers had much contact with the Russians and the
177 Chinese, they are more or less influenced by the culture and
civilization of both. The Chinese influence appears to be the
strongest.

563 Largely nomads, the West Mongols live a life similar to that
233 of their nomad brothers of Inner Mongolia. Only as a last resort
[171] do they abandon tent life and take up agriculture.

[241] The nobles who live in cities dwell in houses that are a com-
563 bination of Tibetan and Occidental architectural style, flat-
565 roofed, whitewashed, and with walled-in courtyards. Like the
369 Chinese, they sleep on k'angs. One often finds Russian furniture
342 in the house, Chinese embroideries decorating the walls, and
177 red silk draperies with Mongolian mottoes.

[352] The ordinary people wear long gowns of Chinese cut, but the
[353] customary Mongolian sash and equipment (see clothing section
563 of IMAR Handbook). A young man wears a long gown with a
291 sleeveless velvet waistcoat on top. Formerly, the officials
177 wore silk robes of Chinese cut, and the decorative cap of Im-
perial times with a peacock feather to signify the position of
chieftainship. Nowadays they wear a Chinese style long gown
with a sleeved jacket (ma-kua).

563 Food of the West Mongols is similar to that of other nomadic
262 peoples, but when the rich entertain, the cuisine is a combina-
556 tion of Mongolian, Chinese and Russian styles.
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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

563 A. General Introduction

517 The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of
Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper.
The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by
Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part
of Turkestan as a whole.

563 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are con-
tained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic
517 people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The
53 arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and
545 have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic
people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow
[177] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Com-
[668] munist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into
Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on
the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural inter-
course with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually de-
517 stroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been pre-
53 served here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried
177 Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited
538 alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

The earliest important literary achievements known to us in
[175] Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

[797] [177] In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[756] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

563 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent
538 pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as
175 to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man
who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, and the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the
538 product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of
175 literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which
173 originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic
narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turke-
538 stan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and
some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a
533 part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally
lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
(177) Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements,
mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

[539] "If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The
Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

(p. 211):

• 563 "Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
533 Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
539 He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 538 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi literature and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads. [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 533 538 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the [539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 538 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

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C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

563 produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955,
538 states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies
177 were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority
668 peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing
House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh
[214] and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

D. Artistic Expression

175 The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the
532 great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century,
532 European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the
172 ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first
[648] and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 The important artistic discoveries were made at the follow-
172 ing sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manu-
[538] scripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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[162]

Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

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563 certain amount of overlapping of the figures in Tables 1 and 2.

During the war years there was an expansion of schools in Sinkiang. By 1946 the number was as follows:

Table 3

Schools in Sinkiang in 1946 *

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1. Schools under the Provincial Bureau of Education
    a. Higher Education: 2 (the Sinkiang College and the Sinkiang Women's College, both at Urumchi)
    b. Middle Grade Schools:
        (1) Middle Schools
            Senior Grade: 4 (at Urumchi)
            Junior Grade: 4 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chuguchak)
        (2) Normal Schools
            Senior Grade: 2 (at Urumchi)
            Junior Grade: 5 (2 at Ining, one at Kashgar, one at Chugachak, one at Aksu)
    c. Vocational Schools
        Senior Grade: 2 (one at Ining, one at Chuguchak)
        Primary School Level: 4 (Urumchi, Kashgar, Khotan, Aksu)
    d. Public Schools, primary level: 580
2. Schools under the Cultural Associations:
    a. Primary Schools: 1,883.

*(Ministry of Information, "Education in the Border Regions," 1948.)

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Government sponsored education of Mongols and Tibetans was already initiated in 1910, when the comptroller-general of Chinghai founded the Chinghai Mongolian Academy at Hsi-ning. This school was conceived for service to the Mongol Banners exclusively.

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A somewhat peculiar situation existed in Chinghai after the revolution of 1911. Chinghai in this period was ruled by Moslem generals, who persued a rather fair policy toward ethnic groups. The activities of one of these Moslem generals, Ma-Ch'i, should be stressed. The goal he set for himself was the introduction of at least one primary school in every community of Chinghai, regardless of the ethnic composition of the particular community. His activities were marked by his insistence that all children should learn Chinese in addition to their own language. Besides, he developed and enlarged the training of the ahung (teacher or lowest priestly rank). His first act upon becoming vice-governor of the province was the establishment of

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education).

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The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

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873 and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the
*563 spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and
*668 Uighurs.

177 Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Be-
S 873 fore 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred
• 563 students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest
668 minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was re-
177 named as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

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In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year
[874] curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

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The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The
873 shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the col-
217 lege depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were
563 also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks
668 in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing
and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet
177 books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

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D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous sub-sects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

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The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

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In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

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The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

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E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

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Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 177 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] [692] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese secular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. [796] Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 776 778 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

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793 them. Nowadays these are more cases of private feuds than law
[692] suits. Even when a Qazi exercises his judicial powers, he has
S no authority to enforce the verdict. The position of the reis is
[794] purely symbolic, and that of the Mutaki merely one of consultative
powers.

F. The Chinese Moslems

S N The Chinese Moslems are a different sect of Islam than the
795 Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang. They constitute a religious and, to
563 an extent, a racial minority in China proper. The same is not
true of the Turkic Moslems, who form a major section of the
population in Sinkiang, and who in reality are not a national and
religious minority. However, in Northwest China, the number
of Chinese Moslems is much greater than in other parts of
China, with the possible exceptions of Yunnan and Peking. Many
differences between the Chinese Moslems and the Turkic Moslems
S N stem from this factor alone. The Chinese Moslems are
795 much influenced by an environment which is foreign to Islam.
They have accepted many of the local customs and have integrated
them into their own rites. This process has been both
voluntary and forced. The Chinese Moslems, through the process
of intermarriage and living within a majority of non-Moslems,
have absorbed some of their customs, perhaps without
realizing it. To avoid persecution and suspicion from the rest of
the people, they have been forced to adopt others.

S N Another important factor in the shaping of Islam in China is
[361] the virtual isolation of the Chinese Moslem communities from
other centers of Islam, an isolation which has existed for many
centuries. Islam in China has been deprived of many of the contributions
made later to the religious doctrine and practice by
various philosophic and juristic scholars in Western Asia.
Islam in China, consequently, developed its own peculiar characteristics
(mainly in ritual). The Chinese Moslems have not
contributed anything of major importance to the fields of Islam's,
philosophy and theological thought.

S N The Chinese Moslems are commonly called Dungans. They
795 themselves do not use the name, but term themselves Hui-hui
or Hui tzu. This appellation is applied by the Chinese to all
101 Moslems, whether residents of China proper or Turkestan.
Islam is commonly designated Hui-Hui Chiao (the religion of the
Hui Hui). It is also known as Ch'ing-chen Chiao (The Pure and
True Religion), or the Hsiao-chiao (minor religion) as contrasted
with Confucianism, the "Great Religion." The Communists
refer to them as Hui. The meaning and origin of the name
Hui-hui are not known. There are many varying opinions on the
subject. Some say Hui-hui is a corruption of the name Uighur;
others, that it is equivalent to the Arabic term Islam, the character
Hui signifying "to return".

546 668 177 According to an advertisement in Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 5, 1953, two of the four cinemas in Tihua showed the Chinese feature: "Defend the Fruits of Victory" and the other two showed Soviet Russian films of the heroic type.

Shen Yen-ping, the Minister of Culture, recommended the following films as good features: "The Steel Fighter," "The White-Haired Girl," "The New Young Heroes and Heroines," "The People's Fighters," "The Victory of the Inner Mongolian People," "Chao I-man," "The Red Flag on the Green Hill," "The Concentration Camp in Shang-jao".

He mentioned the following pictures as good documentaries: "The Great Army Marches across the Yangtze," "The Victory Song of the Great Southwest," "The Red Flag Flaps in the West Wind," "The Great Union of the Chinese Nationalities," "Happy Sinkiang," "The March of the Army Liberating Tibet," "Resist America, Aid Korea," "We Must Control the Huai River," "The Victory of the Chinese People," "The Liberated China."

According to Burkhan, the governor of Sinkiang, at the end of 1952 there were more than 40 movie theaters, six rural mobile movie teams in government and army units, sixteen 16 mm. projector movie teams and 91 other movie projecting units in Sinkiang. In 1951, these theaters and teams performed before an audience of more than 4,214,800 (Sinkiang jih-pao, January 1, 1953). In 1952, films and slides were shown to over 5,700,000 people in Sinkiang (NCNA, May 4, 1953). The lantern slides have captions in Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Chinese which were added to them on their arrival in Sinkiang. In 1952, there were only 600 of these sets, but 3,400 sets were being prepared for 1953 (NCNA, May 5, 1953).

In 1954, fourteen Chinese films were dubbed in Mongolian, Tibetan and Uighur (NCNA, December 31, 1954). The first movie showing the life of the Kazakh people, named "Hassan and Karmila" was released. A musical film recording ancient Uighur music was also made for the Uighur inhabitants. In September, 1955, there were 45 movie theaters, 35 educational mobile movie teams, three nationality cultural teams, six theatrical troupes, and 39 cultural halls in Sinkiang.

563 575 872 The institution of cultural halls is not new to Sinkiang. In the past, each of the nationalities residing in Sinkiang has had its own cultural association. These were usually headed by Moslem priests, village elders, living buddhas, or the princes and begs, and it was these cultural associations, not the provincial Commissioner of Education, which had control over the primary schools in Sinkiang. In 1938, they controlled 1,840 primary schools with a total of 105,087 students, and the Uighur Cultural Association, the largest, controlled 1,540 schools with 89,804 students. There were sub-associations in all the cities and towns of Sinkiang, all under the direction of the headquarters of the joint cultural associations located at Urumchi.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

S N

I. Introduction

128 For the purposes of this section the region has been divided into three groups: (1) the Turkic people of Sinkiang (including the Eastern Turks, Kirghiz and Kazakhs), (2) the Tibetans of Chinghai and (3) the Chinese of the Northwest (including both Hans and Moslems).

S N 751 164 Measured by Western standards, the area as a whole lacks most modern facilities for maintaining high standards of health and sanitation. The shortage of trained personnel in the fields of medicine, dentistry and nursing is quite acute. These conditions may be due partly to the geographical location of the area, being in the deep hinterland, away from the center of China, and generally lacking a sufficient water supply. The common man's ignorance of the basic facts of health and sanitation contributes greatly to the spread of disease and to the lack of precautionary measures against the occurrence of certain diseases.

However, the local population, while living under what we consider unsanitary conditions, has built immunities to many diseases, to which a Westerner, living under the same conditions, would easily succumb. Some habits that we consider dangerous in spreading disease may actually be without any harmful consequences to the local people.

II. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

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A. The Diet of the Turkic People

563 The daily diet of the sedentary Eastern Turkis consists mostly of mutton and rice, with vegetables, both boiled and fried, including onions, potatoes, turnips, carrots and spinach, many forms of S [272] [263] soups, and pilaus. Tea is the staple beverage, served with sugar and without milk. Bread, in the shape of circular rolls indented at the top, constitutes an important item in the diet. A variety of fruits, including melons, apples, pears, apricots, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, plums, cherries, and mulberries, grow in profusion in Turkestan and are abundant during the summer.

S 264 262 184 565 563 [539] The common people eat only twice during the day; in the morning and in the evening. The wealthy people frequently have feasts and eat a great abundance and variety of foods. Many of them suffer from abnormal obesity as a result of overeating and lack of exercise. A common proverb in Sinkiang warning against the folly of this type of behavior is the following, "He who eats sparingly eats ten times, but he who eats too much eats but once."

S 563 262 [272] The diet of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, the nomadic Turks, differs somewhat from that of the sedentary Eastern Turks. Their diet is composed mainly of milk and mutton. From flour and

563 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The
262 best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-
to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton,
with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and
sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink
[273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a
leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound
262 by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed.
779 The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal
which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that
beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being
smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten",
(2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and
(4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem accord-
ing to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name
of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except
[273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However,
[369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink
frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both
779 to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem
[784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and direc-
tives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the
True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

/Tibetans of Chingahi/

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75 gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not
*563 standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go
wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or
spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own
specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal
treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots,
crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other
elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs
N medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a
[787] scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the
dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference
to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may
turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful
in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there
may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions
and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge.
However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their
cures from those who have established a reputation for success,
N be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any
[177] others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through,
few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with
their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan
Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on
health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

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*563 A. The Diet of the Chinese
262 The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products.
[272] The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food
S are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton
•563 has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef
262 for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and
[272] millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally
from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from
soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for
special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs
S considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at
N least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking
[252] preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they
are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

N
*563 B. Chinese Concepts of Disease
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563 Most of the people do not know the different values of the various
[146] food products. Although many might wish to improve their
S daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so.
N
[751] The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

/The Chinese/
N knowledge of sanitation and elementary health regulations. Their
*563 concepts of health and disease rest mainly on the traditional beliefs.
751 The concept that dominates most of their thinking about the human
[772] body and its health is that of the Two Principles of yang and yin.
S These are philosophical concepts of the origin of all things. The
563 yang principle represents the male and the yin represents the
751 female. They stand for opposite poles - heaven and earth, sun
[772] and moon, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, positive
and negative, strong and weak.

N In medicine, everything is classified as yang or yin. The
*563 exterior of the body - the skin - is yang, while the interior is
753 yin. The back is yang, while the abdomen is yin. The heart and
772 liver are yang while the spleen, lungs and kidneys are yin. A
826 S disease, accordingly, is yang when due to external causes and yin
563 when due to internal causes. Respiratory diseases, fever, and
753 diseases affecting the upper part of the body are yang diseases.
772 Chills and afflictions of the lower body, and circulatory diseases
826 are yin diseases. When the yin predominates, one suffers from
S yang disease; when the yang is in excess yin results. These two
N principles must be kept in mind when treating the disease, since
[278] the drugs and herbs are also divided into these two classes.

N Another Chinese concept concerning health is that of the existence
*563 of the Five Elements - metal, wood, water, fire and earth.
751 According to this belief, the human body is composed of a mixture
753 of the five elements. So long as the proportions of these five
772 elements remain in order, health results. If the balance is disturbed,
S 563 disease follows.

751 These beliefs are common mainly among the uneducated population,
753 the rural and the lower classes of the urban population.
772 N In most cases, the higher classes have a Western knowledge of
[184] the basic elements of health and sanitation and know the basic
facts of human physiology and the causes of transmission of diseases.
S N Illiteracy and ignorance is much greater in the Northwest region
[212] than along the Pacific Coast. Thus, in the Northwest, the beliefs
are widespread and most Western ideas have not penetrated into
the larger part of the population.

S N Unfortunately, we do not have figures on the birth and death
114 rate in Northwest China. The figures for all of China are given
163 in the chapter on "Health and Sanitation" of the General China
165 Handbook.

N C. Predominant Diseases Among the Chinese

*563 The most common diseases are the fecal-borne ones. They are
164 spread through the use of human waste as fertilizer. Andre Migot,
364 who travelled through Northwest China in 1946, dwells on this
S 563 problem in his description of a typical middle-sized town in this
164 area (Tibetan Marches, p. 51): "Then there is the problem of sani-
364 tation. The total volume of human excrement produced every day

/The Chinese/

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*563 by half a million people - even if they live mainly on rice - is
164 bound to be formidable. No sewage system of any kind exists; its
364 S place is taken by an old established guild of public servants who
• 563 can be seen every morning in large numbers making their way
164 through the streets. The casks or buckets which dangle from
364 the bamboo poles across their shoulders smell no better than
you would expect them to. They are always full to the brim and
their contents, which are eventually sold to truck gardens on the
S outskirts of the city, are a constant threat to the legs of the
N passers-by.... The buckets in which they carry their night
[415] soil down the hill are used, after being briskly rinsed, to carry
[312] their water up."

Besides producing a very unpleasant picture, this description brings out the very serious problems connected with the lack of a proper sewage system. It also points out the many possibilities for spreading contagious diseases and infections.

N
*563 Tuberculosis is quite prevalent in China. Epidemic diseases
164 are common also, such as typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera
[165) and smallpox. Malaria and the two kinds of dysenteries, amoebic
(844) S and bacillary also are present. Death at childbirth, both of infants
563 and mothers, is quite high, because of the lack of adequate sani-
164 tary precautions during childbirth and the practices of the mid-
[165] wives, who do nothing to prevent infection of both mother and
[844) child.

S Winfield in his book states that "seventy-five per cent of all
N deaths in China are due to preventable diseases that are under
[165) control in the West; there are about 15 million deaths each year
in China, of which 11,750,000 are due to preventable diseases."
(China: The Land and the People, p. 111).

D. Medical Personnel

N The lack of Western-trained doctors, nurses, pharmacists
759 and dentists in the Northwest is an extremely serious problem.
*563 Most people, because of the shortage of medical personnel, still
S go to the local herb-doctors. (A full description of the traditional
759 Chinese science of medicine is given in the General Handbook).
563 In many less acute cases, people either neglect to do anything or
attempt to treat themselves by unscientific methods.

S E. Efforts of the Government

N The Nationalist Government was aware of the serious shortage
744 of medical personnel and equipment in all of China, including the
Northwest. Two national organizations were established in the
1930's to deal with these problems: The Department of Public
Health under the Ministry of the Interior, which had a Northwestern Office for the Prevention of Epidemics, and the National Health
Department under the National Economic Council, which also had
an office in the Northwest.

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/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese

The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the tradi- 578 tional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebel- 669 lions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks 186 regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies

Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is 779 necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

/Turks of Sinkiang/

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829 fication of a non-Moslem is not likely to be a very spontaneous
668 movement on the part of the Turkic people, nor is it conceivable
177 that they "deeply love and warmly support the Central People's
Government." To most of them it is a remote government in a foreign country - China - to which most of them have never been, and it is very difficult for them to visualize it as the government to whom they owe supreme allegiance.

S
631 Direct authority is represented by the local government bodies.
554 Although composed of many Chinese officials, the representatives
668 of the local population fill prominent positions in the local govern-
177 ment also. There is a certain amount of pride felt by the local
829 people owing to the fact that some of the important leaders are
Turkic Moslems, who have achieved a position of importance in the government. It is quite likely that leaders like Burkhan and Saifuddin are quite popular among the Turks of Sinkiang. The Turkic refugees abroad and the strongly nationalistic-minded ones who still are in Sinkiang, look at these leaders participating in the Chinese Communist regime as traitors cooperating with the oppressive powers, rather than national heroes.

II. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. Introductory Remarks

N
*563 Northwest China is the arena for some 150,000 Mongolian
[361] herdsmen. Although uniform in respect to their Buddhistic-
[162] nomadic culture and language (with the exception of the Monguors who speak a Mongolian-Tibetan mixed dialect) they do not con-
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• 563 stitute a political or areal unit, living as they do thousands of
[361] miles apart, in the northeastern area of Sinkiang, around the Tsai-
[162] dam swamps area, in the Edzingol area, in the northern part of
Kansu and even in some enclaves in Shensi. Since Chingis Khan, they have never constituted a political unit, although Legdan Khan united the major parts of them into a short-lived empire (see Historical Setting).

The reason for this lack of unity is first and above all, the fact that the Mongols of the Northwest area are outnumbered by Chinese (30 million) and Turks (4 million). The second reason is the treatment by the Manchus who shifted the Mongol banners from place to place in connection with the Manchu, Sibo, and Solon banners, who constituted the main and more reliable garrisons in the frontier area. The reliability of the Mongolian garrisons was partly due to the policy toward the banner and tribal leaders who were made wang (king) or nobles of various ranks.

B. Views of the People with Respect to their own Country

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*563 The average Mongol of the Northwest is fully aware of the fact
829 that he belongs to a minority and that all he possesses are his
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Sinkiang AI1

/Mongols of the Northwest/

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*[668] pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
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[668] For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai, Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification, which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols. (Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and their supreme representative, the court of the government in Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having performed special, mostly military, services for the court in Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the Northwest thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of gods') rather than Peking.
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[992] For the religious world is the real and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiritual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essential to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous, and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes.
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(197) Whenever Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that they have even more in common than only external appearance and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

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829 These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to
*563 arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an un-
S justified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive
829 advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took
● 563 over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but
resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government
several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which
were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders
did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

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D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

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(178) Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living,
internal and external, changed very little. Their families con-
(596) stituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this
(614) structural organization, there existed the military institutions of
(619) banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and
(701) the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and
(622) hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of
the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect
(554) and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the
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Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably
829 with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts)
*563 populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a
*668 certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The
177 organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their live-
(634) stock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of
(242) a widespread educational system might be another asset for the
Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes litera-
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829 ture written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent
563 winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol
668 customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their
177 livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure,
(634) are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present
(242) generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to
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(361) a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change
their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which
the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also
IMAR Handbook, same section).

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III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

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*563 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
829 the Chinese in the Northwest meets with several obstacles. The
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• 563 one most difficult to overcome is the lack of attitudinal uniformity
829 due to a multitude of historical, environmental and social factors
which have molded the people's behavior in the Northwest. There
N is, to begin with, the difference between the urban and the rural
*563 situation, which even though prevalent all over China, has made
369 for a specially pronounced diversity in the Northwest. Generally
829 speaking, in centers like Sian or Lanchou attitudes are met with
S which do not differ too much from those prevalent in other cities
563 of China. It has to be taken into account, though, that Sian has
369 been the capital of the Chinese Empire for centuries up to about
829 one thousand years ago, and this fact still shapes certain attitudes
of the citizens of Sian today. Lanchou, on the other hand, is most definitely a frontier city, the last major outpost of Chinese civilization with an ostentatious pride in local traditions and relics of a cultural or esthetic nature, but open,on the other hand, to a colorful mixture of influences coming from a variety of peoples beyond the pale. The urban attitudes prevalent in Sian and Lanchou thus differ perceptively and both cities differ in certain respects from other Chinese metropolises. Their peculiarities influence in turn urban-rural and social tensions in a specific way.

The Chinese rural scene, on the other hand, displays a variety of factors accounting for attitudinal diversity. There are the differences of the loess-cave dwellers and the mud-hut dwellers, those of the irrigational farmer and the one on hills or mountain slopes; there are regions of compact minorities or dominant majorities of Moslems and finally, regions along the few great thoroughfares and regions of remote seclusion.

The picture gains in complexity in the real frontier areas, Western Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang, where the Chinese constitute a minority. Here the diversity of peoples with whom the Chinese have contact, the geographical differences, the professional differences, differences of the duration of stay, of the home province of the settlers account for attitudinal patterns which change from settlement to settlement.

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N What is attempted in the following pages is, in view of the
difficulties, and furthermore, in view of the pitifully scanty coverage
[128] of the area in the literature, to present a few samples of pertinent
[129] observations, which might add up to some general notions. In
the selection, stress has been laid on the frontier regions, as the regions within the pale, reference still can be made to the General Handbook.

N In their book, The Gobi Desert (New York, 1944), Mildred
712 Cable and Francesca French describe the Chinese people's life
361 in the fortress of Chia-yu-kuan in Western Kansu, which they
[127] visited in the thirties: "Inside of the fortress, life was divided
into three distinct sections, each of which had an existence quite

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795 /Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/
559 apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and
485 more lucrative business." (p. 73).
114 Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much con-
S cerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life
N is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures,
842 one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This
775 is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems
771 cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian
177 faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend
N upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul
*563 or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her
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● 563 book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to
understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one
excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her
life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an
entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just
stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in
these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are
for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of
N their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way
*563 of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability
177 to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They
181 alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the
[669] Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in
the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the
S
563 the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the sus-
177 picion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change
181 their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese
[669 population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the
S Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang
563 were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and
642 speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah.
643 This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Gov-
177 ernment took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the
succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's
son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

S The old administration
563 of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his
642 people were one, and they understood each other well. His
643 Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and
177 the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably
829 accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the
populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became
the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom
S was made.

563 At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed
177 and the land redistributed. Three large administrative
631 districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the
642 Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese
829 hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates
[423] were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors
were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital,
where they would be allocated to the respective departments.
These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority
and they were presented to the people as improved measures of
justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal
of suspicion towards them. There was also the rumor that some
unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to
use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which
S the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.
[669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a
"breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt
only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on
revolt.

N Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the
829 most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period
565 and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a
trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and
Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in
N Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because
[651] there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the
government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common
N people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to
565 social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative
181 in matters which have anything to do with their women.
562 Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have
829 anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who
is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not
be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal
provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations
between the two sexes were resented by the local people because
N they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding
565 their bad impression of the government and their resentment
829 toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are
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Article 51: Regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and various kinds of autonomy organizations of the different nationalities shall be set up according to the size of ~~the~~ respective populations and regions. In places where different nationalities live together and in the autonomous areas of the national minorities, the different nationalities shall each have an appropriate number of representatives in the local organs of political power.

Article 53: All national minorities shall have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to preserve or reform their traditions, customs and religious beliefs...

In the Constitution of 1954 the articles 3, 53, 54, 60, 67-72, 77, and 86 refer to the minorities. Some statements in these articles are very concrete, such as:

"Article 68: In all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation on the organs of self-government.

Article 71: In performing their duties, organs of self-government of all autonomous regions, autonomous chou and autonomous counties employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used in the locality.

Article 77: Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages in court proceedings. The People's Courts are to provide interpretation for any party unacquainted with the spoken or written language commonly used in the locality.

In an area where people of national minorities live in compact communities or where a number of nationalities live together, hearings in people's courts are conducted in the language commonly used in the locality, and judgments, notices and all other documents of the people's courts are made public in such language."

Others are more vague, such as articles 3, 67, 70 and 72. Contrary to Article 4 of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic of the early 1930's, which stated that the minority groups "may either join the Chinese Soviet state or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer," the Constitution of 1954 denies the right of secession. It says in clear and definite words: "National autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." (Article 3). Before further analysis can be made, some essential data help reveal the Communists' policy in practice toward the minorities in the Northwest.

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B. Class Barriers vs. Nationality Barriers

563 1) "Comrade Editor:

423 In November, 1952, when the six 'land-reform experimenting
431 hsiang' in the 5th district of Sui-ting County were 'distributing the
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563 fruit of struggle' there were more landlords and more fruits in the
423 1st hsiang than the 6th hsiang where both the landlords and fruits
431 were few. The laboring people of the 1st hsiang passed to the
565 peasants of the 6th hsiang fruits valued to 400 buckets (hu) of wheat
668 and 3,000 mou (about 500 acres) of rice paddies for distribution.
The peasants of the 6th hsiang were deeply moved and wept. The 6th hsiang originally was a Kazakh area. When the Russians, Chinese Uighurs, Mongols of the 1st hsiang...drove carts loaded with fruits to the hsiang, the Kazakh fellow-citizens were so happy that they jumped up and down and ran to the side of the carts. They hugged the Russians and kissed them. They stuck out their thumbs before the Chinese (a gesture of approval) and yelled 'A-k'ang' (i.e. elder brother). They danced with the Uighurs and the Mongols.

At the same time, when the 6th hsiang classified the people, they found that there were 2 Chinese landlords, 1 Uighur landlord and 4 Kazakh landlords. People suddenly realized that the ones
[186] who had suppressed the people were these landlords, not the landlords of one particular nationality, and certainly not any nationality as a whole..." (Sinkiang Jih-pao, January 24, 1953).

668 This is an excellent example of the way the Communists carry
565 the class struggle across nationality lines. They substitute class
186 hatred for national hatred.

2) "The second stage of land reform in Shu-le County, Sinkiang,
668 involved 20 hsiang and lasted 78 days from December 12, 1952, to
423 March 3, 1953... In these 20 hsiang (during the land reform) we have developed 859 'positive elements,' an average of more than forty people in each hsiang. This laid the foundation for further works....

"Before the confiscation, we called in the rich farmers, the small land lessors and religious leaders for discussion meetings. In these meetings we explained the policy of preserving 'rich farmer economy' and 'freedom of religious belief.' In execution, we definitely carried out the government's policy toward the mosques. Besides leaving strictly alone the land originally owned by the mosques, through consultation between the mosques and the farmers associations, we left a reasonable amount of land to the mosques which had lost their land through confiscation. In the bazaar, we called meetings of businessmen. There we propagated one step forward the policy of protecting business. Throughout the confiscation we did not touch business owned by the landlords.

"We strengthened the work of the United Front. Through the upper level, the religious leaders and people with high prestige and influence among the local mass, we promoted the propaganda of our policy. Hence we avoided the fear psychology which had spread among the landlords to a certain extent. During the confiscation, we firmly carried out the policy of discrimination. We carried out struggled against landlords who stubbornly resisted,

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but gave a certain degree of good care to the liberal-minded landlords during the procedure of confiscation. To those obedient landlords we only carried out confiscation but not the struggle. Besides land, other properties were left to them for a while before actual confiscation. Thus we isolated the stubborn landlords, reduced the resistance and increased help. Under the threat of the peasants, the majority of the landlords expressed willingness to be obedient.

"But there were still defects and mistakes... (1) We were not able to build up the poor farmers and hired hands to be the nucleus of the movement as we had planned... (On the contrary), it was the middle farmers who led the poor farmers, and the poor farmers who led the hired hands... (2) Some farmers... gave sympathy to the landlords during the confiscation and dared not accept the land in distribution... (3) During the distribution, there was illustrated a serious domination of the party cadres over the farmers...." (Yang Tseng-wen, "Victoriously concluded the work of the second stage of land reform in Shu-le County" in Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1953, April 3.)

Some basic facts in this statement can be summarized as follows:

(1) Natives were used to fight against the natives.
(2) Native workers were selected and built up through various devices.
(3) Enemy groups were divided and isolated by discriminating treatment.
(4) Only a few of the most stubborn enemies were selected as targets at one time. Thus most of the people were kept hopeful and cooperative.
(5) Religious groups and the local leaders with great influence among the minorities were handled with care.

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The policy of controlling the minority groups through minority cadres is further shown in the following report: "In the whole special district... of Ili, there originally were 3243 cadres at the hsiang, ch'ü, county and special district level. During 1952... the number increased to 4736. It was a 46.3% increase over that of 1951.... During the past one year,... more than 30,000 common workers and farmers became 'positive elements' who executed the policy and orders of the Communist Party and the People's Government....

"During the past year, 90% of the cadres of the special district received education and drill through the struggles of the suppression of the counter-revolutionists movement, the American Aid-Korea movement, the reduce-rent and anti-despot movement, the land reform movement, the 3-anti and 5-anti movement... and joined the Communist Party and Youth Corps. Some of them became leading workers. According to the incomplete statistics, in the whole special district there were 274 persons promoted from 'positive elements' to become new cadres; 88 persons promoted from cadres to leading

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668 cadres; (among these 17 were at the level of county head, 2 were
• 563 at the level of division head in the special district, 46 were at the level of division head in the county, 23 were at the level of ch'ü head); 22 persons promoted from servants to be cadres; with a grand total of 384 promotions. Among these, 93% belonged to the minority groups and 7% were Chinese. 84% of those being promoted from 'positive elements' were selected from the workers and farmers." (A report from Ili in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 18, 1953. Cf. Chao Hua-Sheng: "A report on Party construction in the 1st hsiang of Aya ch'ü in Hami Qumul County" in Sinkiang jih-pao, January 24, 1953.)

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*668 With this control of the minority groups from inside, the Com-
*563 munists claim to be promoting the minority autonomy and internationality harmony with unprecedented success. The following
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[668] are some of the reports: 1) "A report on the life of the Tibetan
[563] minority in the Northwest, 'Improvement of the political, economic and cultural life of the Tibetans in China during the past year,' given by Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o, Tibetan Vice-chairman of the Chinghai Provincial Government, appeared recently in the Sian Ch'ün-chung jih pao and was released by NCNA from Peking on November 2, 1950, stating:

'In political life, Tibetans now participate in the work of the people's government on all levels and spheres. They take part in local, and national conferences, where they study the work of the government, discuss and adopt government decisions and enjoy the right to vote and to be elected. They also visit other parts of the country to study conditions and exchange experiences. Like all other fraternal nationalities, they have become masters in name and in reality. Any dispute arising among nationalities is solved by ways of arbitration and discussion on the principle of equality, through which they have realized the importance of unity among various nationalities!'"

2) "In the past three years, the people's governments at all levels in the Northwest region have correctly and definitely implemented the nationalities policy, carried out nationalities work, and made great achievements. More than 3000 cases of internationality conflicts were mediated, of which some had not been solved in the past decades or in hundreds of years. Nationality democratic coalition governments have been established in various places. 11 autonomous areas, equivalent to first grade district and counties have been established. Besides, the Yu-shu autonomous area, equivalent to a first grade special district with a dense population of Tibetans, has been established in Chinghai province. About 30,000 cadres of the national minorities have been trained throughout the region to take part in political work, and some of them have become the backbone of the local political work." (NCNA, Sian, May 12, 1952.)

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The success, however, is not so complete as it is indicated in these reports. While there are minority groups which cooperate with the Communists, others do not. A good example is Hsiang Ch'ien, a Tibetan chief in Chinghai, who fought against the Communists from the beginning of the Communists' rule till he exhausted his supplies. For more than two years, the Communists wooed him to no avail. In 1952, he suffered big losses, and even his family was captured by the Communists. The Communists mobilized numerous local leaders to talk terms with him and finally brought him to surrender. This case was publicized because it had a "happy ending" for the Communists. It nevertheless indicates that not all goes as well in the Northwest as the Communists might like.

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D. Minority Languages

Besides these general practices of the Communist minority policy, a special point of interest is the promise in article 3 of the Communist constitution: "All the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages." In fact, the Communists even intended to create new written languages for those nationalities who had not had a written language of their own. (A resolution at the 217th meeting of the Government Administration Council on May 20, 1954, in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, 1954, July issue p. 24). After consultation with experts a compromise was reached in 1954. It was decided to try one or two new written languages first. After reviewing the whole situation, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, head of the Institute of Linguistics of China Science Academy, drew this conclusion: "Not only may the minority groups learn written and spoken Chinese before their own written language is created, but even after they have a written language, it is still necessary for them to learn Chinese." (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, "Following the direction of the Government Administration Council to help the various nationalities without language to create their own," in K'e-hsüeh t'ung-pao, July, 1954, pp. 24-26.)

The language policy is apparently two-fold. On the one hand, the minority groups may retain their own languages; on the other hand, they are encouraged, it not required, to learn the Chinese language. This second policy has to be seen in the light of the drive to promote the national language and to eliminate all local dialects. Judging by the trend in the Soviet Union, the minority groups at least will be required to learn and to use the Chinese language, regardless of the fate of their own.

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A team to investigate the minority languages in Sinkiang was organized and sent to the field by the Institute of Linguistics of the China Science Academy. They stayed in Sinkiang for over fifty days recording and collecting material concerning the local

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668 languages. This seems to be part of the effort toward the creation
• 563 of the new written languages.
19 So far the only new written language on record in the Northwest
S is the language used in Kozelesu Khalkha Kirghiz Autonomous Chou
19 in Sinkiang. This Kirghiz group had had a written language before,
212 but it used now an Arabic alphabet. The Government adopted for
the group, the Soviet Kirghiz script and created a new 3--letter
alphabet. (Kuang-ming jih-pao, April 11, 1955.)

N As the situation stands in 1956, the written languages, other
S than Chinese, used in the Northwest are Uighur, Kazakh, Manchu,
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212 Mongolian, Tibetan, and Kirghiz.

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*668 Ch'en Shih yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central
[633] People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative
region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major
N changes in Northwest China:
[633] (1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority
N to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.
[635] (2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.
S (3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous
[668] region on October 1, 1955.
[635] Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were
N *668 quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu,
631 and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang
S in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1,
668 631 1955, are shown in Table 9.
N After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution
*668 in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's
631 Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes,
666 but the general structure and control of the government remained
about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

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*175 A. Earlier Systems
631 In the past, although the Chinese government gave little pub-
*563 licity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minori-
S ties in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal
175 to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the
631 Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minor-
● 563 ities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion,
and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minori-
ties had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area
became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly dis-
turbed.

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B. The Communist System
*668 The Communists have a definite program for changing the
*563 social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is neces-
631 sary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the
S friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface,
668 they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they
563 control them from within through hand-picked Party members.
631 So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these auto-
nomous local governments is essentially different from that of the
regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur
Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it,
superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province.
A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

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with the local governmental divisions down to the county level, is shown in Table 10.

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TABLE 10
Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

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NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'üan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'üan, Chingho, and Po-l
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-chih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi-sha, and Su-fu

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

N I. Historical Background

631 Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population.
N Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic
*[175] cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese
*[563] end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end,
[578] and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese
N peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

635 East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern
[162] Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for
N the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west.
635 The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since
*175 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they
*668 established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

S Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge
635 dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more
648 closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations
S of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese
635 Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic
• 563 people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-
N rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united
* 563 front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of at-
635 648 tempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

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attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

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In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of *federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards* the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

S 668 [565]

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one.

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The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

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*175 served as underground workers in the Northwest came to about
*668 50,000, and with the population of the five northwest provinces
about twenty-three million (the 1954 census gave the figure of 35 1/2 million), the number of cadres came to only 0.22 per cent of the population. Even with the addition of the 200,000 party men in the People's Liberation Army, the number of cadres was less than one per cent.

As part of the United Front Work, the Communist authorities, as soon as they took over control of the northwestern provinces, absorbed almost all the former Nationalist government functionaries and students into the rank of the cadres. By providing them with jobs, the authorities expected to remove a potential source of discontent at a time when it was necessary to win over the people. In his speech of November, 1949, Ma Wen-jui revealed that 70 per cent of the new cadres were young intellectuals and former government personnel (JMJP, January 4, 1950).

But both old cadres and those newly converted were unsatisfactory for reasons which will be discussed later, and, not only for the purpose of remedying the shortage but also in the hope of catering to the aspiration of the non-Chinese peoples who make up the bulk of the population in the outlying regions, it was necessary to train large numbers of cadres recruited from the national minorities. The training of cadres was achieved in two ways: one through the schools and special training classes and the other by placing them in low-ranking administrative positions and "coaching them as apprentices."

In June, 1951, the Government Administration Council in Peking approved a resolution entitled "Tentative Measures for the Fostering of Cadres of Minority Nationalities," which in its preamble called for the "universal and large-scale cultivation of cadres of various minority nationalities." Priority was given to the training of military and technical cadres. To implement this policy, a Central Nationalities Institute was established in Peking, to which cadres with ranks above those of section chiefs in the autonomous areas and battalion commanders in the army were sent. Regional nationality schools as well as cadre schools were estab-
S lished for the rank-and-file cadres. In addition, all the institutions
175 of education were used to turn out cadres for the state.

668 Primary Schools: In Sinkiang, it was stated that the 112,393 stu-
871 dents who graduated from the elementary schools in the years from 1950 to 1955 were assigned to the labor reserve, promoted to be cadres, or permitted to attend secondary schools.

Middle Schools: The 13,140 students who graduated from Middle schools in Sinkiang in 1950-55 were either permitted to attend colleges or were inducted into the ranks of the cadres. (Kuangming jih-pao, September 30, 1955).

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• [563] Nationality Schools: The seven nationality schools in Sinkiang

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175 graduated in four years a total of 11,000 students into the ranks
668 of the cadres. Deserving boys of Mongol descent were also sent
871 to study in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, which was
● [563] regarded as the model for the national minorities.

Short-term Training Classes: The first thing the Chinese Communists did upon entering Sinkiang was to set up twenty-five classes to train cadres in three-to-six month courses. By summer of 1951, these training classes graduated 3,600 cadres from 13 different nationalities.

N Colleges: There were by 1955 thirteen institutions of higher
*175 education in the Northwest. The most important was the North-
*668 west Revolutionary University located at Sian. Founded in 1950,
873 it conducted courses on Marxism-Leninism and the writings of
Mao Tse-tung with the aim of "reforming the intellectuals."
(Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 8, 1953). In 1953, after having graduated 12,000 cadres, its name was changed to Northwest Cadres
N School of Political and Legal Science. The Nationality College at
*[563] Lanchou was under the direction of Wang Feng, who was head of
the United Front Work Department of the Northwest Bureau of the
S 175 CCP. The Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, headed by
668 provincial governor Burkhan, was distinguished by a faculty of
873 350 Soviet advisors who made up 43% of the teachers. It gradu-
[563] ated 1,700 minority cadres in 1953. The Sinkiang People's Gov-
ernment and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist
S Party each have a cadre school which, along with the training
175 classes, turned out 10,000 cadres by the end of 1955. By the
668 summer of 1955, these two cadre schools and the Sinkiang Nation-
874 ality College trained a total of 396 teachers and 4,355 educational
873 cadres.

N The nationality autonomous areas were also used as nurseries
*175 for the incubation and training of nationality cadres. In Chinghai
*668 over a third of the native cadres were selected from activists in
871 the people's governments.
*563 The purpose of study in the cadre schools was to "enable the students to shake off the bad influences and to strengthen their patriotic ideology." The cadres were drawn from the ranks of the students and from "upper religious circles" and, "on returning to national minority areas, they were able to conduct propaganda in a correct manner, do work actively and promote solidarity among various nationalities in pushing forward political, economic and cultural enterprises." (Kuang-ming jih-pao, February 24, 1954).

Allowing for the possibility of some duplications in the figures, the number of national minority cadres trained may be estimated by adding the numbers mentioned in the Communist press (see Table 2).

Table 2

NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TRAINED IN THE NORTHWEST

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Sinkiang			
Veterans of the Ili Revolt			17,000
Graduates of 25 training classes in 1950			3,600
Graduates of the training classes in 1951			1,200
Graduates of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau cadre school in 1951, 1044, 84 per cent were natives			877
Graduates of the Sinkiang Nationality College, 1953			1,700
Educational Cadres, from Sinkiang Cadre School			4,355
Graduates of the training classes in 1954			200
Graduates of the Provincial Government Cadre School			296
Cadres promoted from activists			
In 197 hsiang	308		
In Ili, Kashgar and Yarkand	934		
In Bavenkara NAA	80		
In Qizil Su Kolkhoz NAA	1,100		2,422
Total	2,422		
Total			31,650
Ninghsia, summer 1954,			2,300
Kansu, Graduates of the Lanchou Nationality College, 1950-54			2,500
Chinghai			
Number as of summer, 1954		3,471	
Cadres promoted from activists			
Yu-shu Tibetan NAA	250		
Huang-nan Tibetan NAA	258		
Hai-pei Tibetan NAA	302		
Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh NAA	340		
Shun-hua Salar NAA	190		
Total	1,340	1,340	
Total		4,811	4,811
Shensi, Graduates of the Northwest Nationality College at Sian, 1950-54			2,543
GRAND TOTAL FOR THE NORTHWEST			43,834

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This figure, 43,834, is not far from the figure of "over 40,000 cadres of national minorities" cited by Wang Feng, chairman of the Commission of Nationality Affairs of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council and director of the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in December, 1953 (NCNA, January 6, 1954).

As to the total number of cadres in the Northwest, it is necessary to deduce from the statistics given in the Communist press to obtain an estimate. In September, 1955, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, claimed that there were 36,000 national minority

N cadres in the province (JMJP September 24, 1955), but this ap-
*175 peared to be an exaggeration, for an article in the Kuang-ming
*668 jih-pao, (by Chang Hung, on September 30, 1955), stated that the
*563 number of minority cadres in Sinkiang was 34,400, and that they
162 made up 66.9 per cent of all the cadres in the then province. The
S 175 total, therefore, comes to 51,543. In Kansu, the total number of
668 cadres up to the end of 1953 was 12,361. In Chinghai, the 3,471
563 national minority cadres made up 40 per cent of the total number
162 of cadres, so that the total number would be about 8,500.

Early in 1950, Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, stated that there were 50,000 underground cadres plus 200,000 cadres in the People's Liberation Army, or a total of 250,000. Later in the year, it was stated that over 10,000 students and former government functionaries were undergoing reform in the Northwest Cadre Training School, and that 6,000 of them were from the national minorities. A large number of these cadres were purged in 1952-53, but their ranks were filled by graduates from the training schools and colleges. The Northwest Cadre School at Sian, graduated 2,200 in the years 1949-53 and the Northwest Revolutionary University, also at Sian, graduated a total of 12,000 in the period from 1950 to 1953.

Simultaneous with the process of drawing men from schools and government offices into the special training classes, nationality colleges and cadre schools for training, non-Chinese cadres were also assigned jobs in lower levels of the governments so that they could receive practical experience in the administration and also to bear the brunt of contact with local inhabitants. By fall of 1950, there were about 4,400 native cadres employed in local government agencies, half of whom held offices above the level of hsiang. By spring of 1951, according to incomplete figures, the number of national minority cadres in government increased to 22,000, distributed in the five Northwest provinces as follows, (NCNA, May 13, 1951):

Sinkiang	17,000
Chinghai	2,000
Kansu	1,976
Ninghsia	1,050
Sian Municipality	40

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*175 The 17,000 administrative personnel in Sinkiang were the same
*668 veteran cadres who took part in the 1944 Ili Revolt and who were
*563 organized into the Sinkiang People's Democratic League headed by
162 Saifuddin (JMJP, June 6, 1952; also statement of Wang Feng,
631 December 29, 1951). It was also claimed that seventy to eighty
S 175 per cent of the personnel in the magistrates' offices in the 80
668 counties of Sinkiang were native cadres. By the end of 1951, the
563 number of national minority cadres employed in government work
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N in the Northwest reached the highwater mark of 27,000 (NCNA
*175 January 8, 1952).

*668 A large number of the cadres were sent out directly from
*563 training schools to low-ranking positions in the people's govern-
162 ments. Up to the summer of 1953 the Northwest Revolutionary
631 University at Sian placed over 12,000 of its graduates in govern-
[873] ment service, the Northwest Nationality College 2,573, the Lanchou
[874] Nationality College 2,500, and the Northwest Cadre School 2,200.
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175 The areas of concentration in Sinkiang were the Ili and Kashgar
668 Administrative Districts and three counties in Yarkand which had
• 563 6,907 native cadres employed as directors of departments, sec-
162 tion chiefs, and heads of counties and ch'ü (districts).
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B. Demoralization and Conflict of the Cadres

N A compelling reason for the large-scale induction of cadres,
*175 both Chinese and from the national minorities, was not only because
*668 of the small number of veteran cadres, but also because these old
578 cadres were no longer considered trustworthy and useful by the
authorities. However, the authorities soon found that the new cadres were not any better and their absorption only heightened the conflict within the ranks of the cadres. The defects of the cadres were repeatedly pointed out in the series of conferences convened by the Department of United Front Work of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party in the fall of 1951 and in the spring of 1952. The main shortcomings of the cadres, as pointed out by the Communist leaders, were:

1. Lack of political consciousness and demoralization of the old party cadres. It was significant, and perhaps paradoxical, that the major criticisms against the cadres were directed against the veteran cadres who had been trained and who had seen service in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, which since 1935 had been the center of Communist activities and the showcase of Communist administration. As early as January, 1950, Ma Wen-jui, director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, charged in a speech (JMJP January 4, 1950),that the old cadres showed restlessness, they wanted better jobs and were anxious to return home, they suffered from the ideological defects of individualism and jealousy of the new cadres, they were inefficient and careless in their work so that they lost important documents and often divulged state secrets, they lacked initiative and a sense of responsibility, and sought only enjoyment. Cases of graft were quite frequent.

Eighteen months later, at a conference of high-ranking cadres held at Sian in August, 1951, Ma Wen-jui charged that the old party cadres, due to their long stay in the rural villages and due to the demoralizing conditions of the war, lack education. "The degrees of political awakening of some of the party members is

Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level				
(in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level				
(in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)

County Magistrates: Third level	
(in 1951)	
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.

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*175 lishment of the Hai-pei Tibetan Autonomous People's Government
*668 in Chinghai came only after the "achievement of the Chinese Com-
631 munist Party and the People's Government at upper level."
*563 "On entering the Tibetan area in Hai-pei in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party and the cadres of the People's Government exerted great efforts in propaganda, thoroughly carried out policies concerning national equality, unity and the development of production, mediated disputes... and stabilized social order." (NCNA June 18, 1954).

As one after another of the national autonomous areas proved satisfactory, from the point of view of the Communists, more were established. Following the establishment of the T'ien-chu Tibetan Autonomous district in Kansu in May, 1950, eight autonomous districts were established in 1950: five in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and one in Chinghai. Three were established in the years 1951 and 1952, all in Chinghai. Fifteen were set up in 1953: six in Kansu, two in Ninghsia, and eight in Chinghai. Of the total of 27 autonomous districts set up by the end of 1953, 14 were Tibetan, five Chinese Moslem (Hui), four Mongol, and four others. Including the smaller autonomous areas, there were a total of over forty autonomous people's governments in the three provinces of Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, by August, 1953. Their size varied. In Chinghai, the Kung-ho Kazakh autonomous hsiang had a total population of 130 and the Huang-nan Tibetan Autonomous district a population of 220,000. These nationality autonomous areas in the three provinces embraced a total of 700,000 people, or one-ninth of the non-Chinese population in the Northwest (NCNA August 29, 1953 and September 9, 1953; but one million according to Ma Ming-fang, Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954).

S The people of Sinkiang, who constituted the bulk of the non-Chi-
175 nese population in the Northwest, were, up to fall of 1953, four
668 years after the Communist conquest, not granted the privilege of
642 self-rule. Some of the reasons for the discrimination of Sinkiang
• 563 were quite obvious.

631 1. The propinquity of the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai and the predominance of the Chinese population made it easier for the Communists to exercise control. Sinkiang, on the other hand, was farther from China and the bulk of the population was non-Chinese with a long tradition of resistance to Chinese rule.

S 2. In Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, Chinese cadres far outnum-
175 bered the native cadres, but in Sinkiang, according to one source
668 (Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 30, 1955), 67 per cent of the
563 cadres were native cadres, including 17,000 of them who had taken
631 part in the Ili Revolt in 1944-45. The fact that they still entertained separatist views may be seen in the fact that Saifuddin, their leader, found it necessary to remind them: "From now on, the

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175 problem is no longer one concerned with opposition to pan-racial-
668 ism (i.e., Great Hanism), but rather how to cooperate with the...
563 Chinese in struggling for the building of a free big family and in
631 opposing petty nationalism and the saboteurs of national solidarity."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

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*175 3. Up to the end of 1953, it was reported that there were a total of 2,800,000 organized peasant households in the Northwest, or
592 45 per cent of the total number of peasant households (Ch'ün-chung
162 jih-pao, January 1, 1954). The bulk of the number of organized peasants were in the interior provinces, while in Sinkiang only
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175 33.8 per cent of the peasant households were organized. Not only
592 the percentage in Sinkiang, but also the average percentage of the
162 whole of the Northwest, compared rather unfavorably with the 77.32 per cent in Inner Mongolia.

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[474] The figures on Table 4 are numbers of farming households in the Northwest, which were organized into farmers associations
[476] and into mutual aid teams up to December, 1953, based on statistics appearing in the Communist press. (Figures in parentheses are computed from percentages given of the total).

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175 4. An important factor, too, was the special position of Soviet Russia in Sinkiang. Soviet authorities had succeeded in gaining a
648 foothold in Chinese Turkestan during the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and later in the political vacuum attendant upon the withdrawal of Nationalist influence in 1948-49. Soviet troops were stationed at strategic points and Soviet party and consular officials actually held the reins of power. Soviet interests were confirmed in the treaty signed between Peking and Moscow in February, 1950, to which were attached two codicils providing for the organization of two joint stock companies for Soviet exploitation of the oil and mineral resources in Sinkiang (not excluding the possibility of the mining and shipment of uranium ores to the Soviet Union). To implement these agreements, large numbers of Soviet experts arrived to set up machine works, power plants, and to assist the Chinese in the work of geological survey, veterinary and medical research, the operation of trucking lines and state farms, cotton production, insect eradication and sheep-raising (NCNA interview with Burkhan, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, September 27, 1955). In the face of Soviet domination of Sinkiang, it was difficult for Communist China to assert its rule, except nominally, in that remote province.

It was with the death of Stalin that there was, ostensibly, a reappraisal of Soviet relations with Communist China. During the visit of Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin to Peking in October, 1954, the pattern of Sino-Soviet partnership was readjusted to make it more palatable to the ego of the Chinese leaders. In regard to Sinkiang, one of the five agreements reached as a result of the Peking talks was for the sale of Soviet shares in the two joint stock companies to Communist China, transforming them into

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175 Chinese-owned companies. Although Soviet and Eastern European
648 experts were retained as salaried technicians, the move was made
to appear that Soviet Russia was withdrawing from Sinkiang in
favor of Communist China.

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175 In addition to these conditions, there was a whole plethora of
668 other factors which made the Communist authorities reluctant to
642 grant regional autonomy to the people of Sinkiang. However, as
631 they had in repeated pronouncements promised autonomy to the
563 non-Chinese inhabitants of this province, they found that they
could not procrastinate any longer, and in the late summer of 1953 they finally agreed to the establishment of the first autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang, but on an experimental basis. The three experimental autonomous governments were: one for the Sibo on the hsiang level, one for the Chinese Moslems on the county level, and one for the Mongols on the district (ch'ü)level. In December, 1953, Saifuddin urged "that a good job must be done to guarantee that the various national autonomies in the province may be established." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 6, 1954).

The experiments proved successful and by May, 1954, the green light was given for the establishment of autonomous people's governments in Sinkiang for other concentrations of national minorities in the province. There were thirty-three autonomous areas below the level of district in Sinkiang in August (NCNA, August 7, 1954). However, in proportion to its population of non-Chinese people, Sinkiang was still behind. During the same period, the number of autonomous areas in Kansu had increased to 86 (NCNA April 9, 1955).

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*175 C. The General Election of 1953-54
*668 In 1953, the people of Northwest China, as elsewhere in China, were for the first time permitted to cast their votes for the elec-
666 tion of their representatives. In February, the Central People's
[641] Government in Peking passed the Election Law which provided for
suffrage for adults over 18 years of age with the exclusion of all those whom the Communist authorities had classified as landlords, counter-revolutionaries, and lunatics and those who were deprived of the right to vote or to run for election. The certified voters vote only once, at the lowest or basic levels, and by a show of hands (art. 55). The system is pyramidal. The representatives chosen by the people at the basic election elect their representatives to people's congresses of a higher level, and these in turn elect representatives for peoples of still higher level, and so on up, through the levels of county and district people's congresses to municipal and provincial congresses, and through the level of municipal and provincial congresses to the National People's Congress. Only at high levels was the balloting secret. The candidates running for election were Communist or men approved by the

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*175 governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen,
666 nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also
*668 showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25
635 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in
Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

N A word must be said about the representation of national
*175 minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall
*563 of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according
666 to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of
646 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470
persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to
800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177
national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing
six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

N The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as
*175 follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32.
*563 Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality
646 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82.
S It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added
175 to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was
•563 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to
646 one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number
of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor
heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational
and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed
in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would
entertain nonconformist thoughts.

N Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the
642 establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not
631 mean that the people have been given the right to govern them-
646 selves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's
Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National
People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers
of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and
execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's
congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and
powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was
"to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of
higher level" (art. 27).

N
VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

*175 In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their
631 final stage, there were structural changes in the administration
*668 of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was re-
177 laxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the
[666]

N
*175 B. Transfer of Cadres

*668 The vast expansion of cooperatives and the intensification of
474 the collectivization of the people demanded an increase in the num-
476 ber of cadres to supervise them. The number of cadres assigned to the task of cooperative building and the number of cadres to be trained for such work up to the fall of 1955 are shown in Table 6.

The assignment of the large number of cadres to the rural areas was, according to Chang Chih-chung, "to consolidate the mutual aid teams and producers cooperative work under a policy of active leadership." (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, January 1, 1954). However, the demoralization, the lack of discipline, the incompetence and low degree of political consciousness of the cadres when employed as officials of the people's governments during the first four years of Communist rule have not only impeded government and party work but also incurred ill-feeling among the people. The assignment of the cadres to the cooperatives in rural areas was to remove them from sensitive positions in the government.

N
*175 Consequently, by 1955, when the work of the cadres in direc-
*668 ting the elections was over, there were few cadres left in the
*563 upper levels of government. This was particularly the case of
631 the national minority cadres. In Chinghai, out of the 3,400 native
S cadres, only 93 held responsible positions in the party organiza-
175 tion in December, 1954, and in Sinkiang, only a third of the
668 cadres in party committees on all levels were natives, two-thirds
• 563 were Chinese. In the government and in state enterprises, the
631 number of national cadres was even less. According to Wang En-mao, secretary of the Sinkiang Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, only 682 out of the 34,400 national minority cadres held responsible positions in the governments above the levels of county, although it was claimed in other Communist publications that 84.6 per cent of the cadres in government offices below county levels were natives. In the state commercial, animal products, tea, silk, and export enterprises, 63 per cent of the officials were Chinese. One of the reasons for the demotion of the national minority cadres was their lack of education and training. Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, seeking to rationalize this state of affairs, said that of the 36,000 national minority cadres (his figure) trained in all fields of work since 1949, only 2,500 showed enough initiative to be promoted to be leadership cadres. (JMJP September 24, 1955).

N
*175 To bolster the position of the Chinese cadres and to fill the
*668 ranks depleted by the transfer of local cadres to the work of col-
166 lectivizing the peasant population, large numbers of cadres and workers were sent to the Northwest from the coastal provinces. The figures of Table 7, gathered from scattered items in the Communist press, are incomplete, but they give an idea of the horde of cadres and approved workers and students pouring into the northwestern provinces during 1955.[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 523]

175 Sinkiang: Party work was also slow in this province. Although
at the end of 1953, it was reported that 75.68 per cent of the
178 6,400 new Party members were recruited from the national
668 minorities, only 26.1 per cent of the responsible personnel in
party committees of county level and higher were natives. The Chinese members still predominated. As to the New Democratic Youth League, there were in 1955 a total of 57,228 members in Sinkiang, and this organization supplied 3,900 of its members to the Chinese Communist Party.

Compared to the rest of Sinkiang, the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou did much better in the recruitment of party members. From 1950 to March, 1955, it recruited a total of 1,100 new party members from the activists.

VII. Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region

A. Extend and Limitations of Regional Autonomy

175 The expansion of Chinese Communist Party membership, the
668 transfer of local cadres to the work of cooperative-building in
642 the rural areas and the collectivization of the people, the relega-
• 563 tion of native cadres to unimportant government posts, and the
179 influx of hordes of cadres and workers from China Proper to take
over the governments and state enterprises were preliminary steps preparatory to the conferring of regional autonomy to the non-Chinese population of Sinkiang. Self-rule has been an objective for which the minority peoples of Chinese Turkestan aspired and struggled, and the promises of self-determination and self-government were the chief planks of the political platform of the Chinese Communists. However, the definition of what constitutes autonomy for the minority peoples has undergone evolution.

As early as 1930, Mao Tse-tung had declared that the non-Chinese racial minorities "have a right to determine by themselves whether they want to secede from the Chinese Soviet Republic and form their own independent state, or to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or to form an autonomous region of the Chinese Soviet Republic." (The Soviets in China, p. 440 quoted in Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 115). This was incorporated in Article 14 of the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic promulgated in 1931, with the omission of the right to join the USSR.

The Chinese Communists reaffirmed their promise of autonomy to the nationality minorities when they came to power in 1949, but autonomy was to be within the federal framework of the Chinese People's Republic and no mention was made of the right of secession by the non-Chinese minorities. The Common Program adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September, 1949, promised only regional self-government and preservation of the language, religion and culture of the minority peoples, 175 and equality and prohibition of discrimination.

177 The policies of the Chinese Communists were incorporated 668 into the "General Program for the enforcement of nationalities 642 regional autonomy" which was promulgated in August, 1952, 563 along with two supplementary documents, one for the enforcement of local nationalities democratic coalition governments and the other for the protection of the equality and interests of the national minorities. Article 2 of chapter one of the General Program declared explicitly that the nationality regional autonomous areas were local administrations under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the leadership of higher level people's governments. Chapter four provides for the "rights" of autonomy, which include the acquiescence to the leadership personnel, the use of their own language and literature, and the privilege of having their "patriotic" activists promoted to be cadres. No mention was made of the right of the nationalities to initiate legislation, and matters of finances, public security forces and militia were under the control of the Central People's Government. Chapter five stipulated that the minorities should love the Chinese and love and support the Chinese People's Republic, and chapter six stated that they should follow the leadership of governments of a higher level.

These provisions were incorporated into the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted in October, 1954, which, in article 2, reiterated that the autonomous regions were inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Autonomy for the minority peoples, thus defined, meant only the preservation of the language and literature of the minority peoples. The autonomous regions were actually in the same status as a Chinese province, with no legislative powers of their own and no freedom from supervision and control of the Central Government. The love of and adhesion to the fatherland was reaffirmed and no separatist movements permitted from "the great family of the fatherland."

B. Autonomy for Sinkiang

Since autonomy for the national minorities, as conceived by the Chinese Communist who in turn copied it from Soviet Russia, was autonomy in name only and a sham, it was not likely to satisfy the people of Chinese Turkestan, with their tradition for independence and their aspirations for self-government. To quiet them, the provincial governor Burkhan Shahidi, in an article denouncing pan-Turkestanism and pan-Islamism as destructive to the "fraternal and cooperative family" of China, told his people that they did not qualify for national independence. "It is conceivable," he said, "that people who speak the Turkish language may not form a nation as they lack common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychology. Similarly, people who believe in Islam do

175 not ipso facto form a nation." And, he went on, "At this juncture,
177 any national movement which seeks separation from the Chinese
668 People's Republic for independence will be reactionary since...
642 it would undermine the interests of the various races and particu-
larly the foremost majority of the race concerned (that is, the
563 Chinese), and thus would work to the advantage of imperialism."
(JMJP October 2, 1951).

175 Later, in June, 1953, Burkhan enumerated the prerequisite
177 conditions for Sinkiang to achieve autonomy within the framework
of the Chinese People's Republic. The future Sinkiang autonomous
668 area, he said, must "be an inseparable part of the People's
642 Republic of China and the autonomous areas of minority nationali-
[563) ties in Sinkiang are likewise inseparable parts of Sinkiang and the
People's Republic of China."

The formation of autonomous governments in nationality areas, declared Burkhan, was contingent not only on having a large number of representatives and nationality cadres in these areas but also on the representatives and cadres of other nationalities in the governments, and he went on to explain that by other nationalities, he meant the Han Chinese cadres, whose presence was necessary because the native peoples were politically and culturally backward. "Autonomous organs at various levels should retain a certain number of Han Chinese cadres."

A third condition for the establishment of regional autonomy was the extent of the organization of the people. "It is imperative," he said, "to conduct more penetratively and extensively publicity and education to the people of all nationalities on patriotism and Sino-Soviet friendship."

Fourthly, he told the people of Chinese Turkestan, they should not be impatient and resentful just because other nationalities in the Northwest had already been granted regional autonomy. Regional autonomy in Sinkiang had to be achieved in five stages; at the hsiang and ch'ü level, at the county level, at the district level, at the administrative district level, and finally, at the provincial level with the Uighur as the principal constituent.

Burkhan, in conclusion, pointed to the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region as "the example of the advantages of exercising autonomy in nationality areas," and "the perfect example for other minority nationalities in the implementation of autonomy in the future." (Sinkiang jih-pao, June 20, 1953).

By fall of 1954, the Commission on Nationality Affairs in the
[563) Central People's Government in Peking was satisfied with the
"notable progress made in substantiating minority self-government organs," which included the promotion of large numbers of native cadres from the activists, the staffing of the governments with cadres, the use of the languages of the minorities, and "in some localities, armed forces of indigenous peoples have been built

175 177 668 under the leadership of the local party and government organs." (JMJP, August 28, 1954).

642 [563] [631] Finally, in August, 1955, when out of the total of thirty-three autonomous areas in Sinkiang below the rank of districts, four were raised to the status of chou and six to the status of districts, it was announced that Sinkiang would be made into the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region in September.

Large numbers of dignitaries journeyed from Peking to attend the second session of the Sinkiang People's Political Consultative Conference at Urumchi, where the change in the status of Sinkiang was proclaimed on September 20. Among them was vice-premier Tung Pi-wu, who, in his address, told the local leaders that the bases for the establishment of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region lay in elevation of the patriotism and socialist consciousness of the people, the training and employment of large numbers of cadres, and on the degree of unity among the nationalities. To preserve and consolidate the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, he said, the people of Sinkiang must (1) welcome the assistance of the Han Chinese cadres, (2) actively assist the other nationality autonomous areas in construction, (3) pay serious attention to education in patriotism and socialism and prevent the tendency of great nation and provincial nationalism, and (4) consolidate national unity and wipe out the counter-revolutionaries. (NCNA September 21, 1955).

175 177 668 642 563 Burkhan, in his speech, elaborated on the statements of Tung Pi-wu by saying that the main task of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem of nationalities during the transitional period was to consolidate the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity among the nationalities in a common effort to build the big family of the fatherland and to follow the centralized leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Communist Party and the provincial people's government. Just as the Uighurs, who are the majority people in Sinkiang, need the help and support of the Han Chinese of China Proper, so the other minority peoples, such as the Kazakhs in Ili, need the help and support of the Uighurs.

"With the establishment of the Uighur autonomous region in Sinkiang, we should all the more warmly welcome the sincere and selfless help extended by the Han Chinese and cadres of brother nationalities. This is because the Han Chinese and their cadres have gone through a long period of revolutionary training and experience.... Only under the unified guidance of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and the party committee in the autonomous region as well as the warm help of the Han Chinese and cadres, and further efforts to consolidate and strengthen unity among the

175 nationalities, will it be possible for Sinkiang nationalities to exer-
177 cise fully the rights of being masters of their own domain and
668 vigorously develop the political and cultural activities in the
642 Autonomous Region." (NCNA September 24, 1955).

On October 1, 1955, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
● 563 officially came into being. The last act of the Sinkiang People's
[666] Congress was the election of the 37-man people's council of the
new Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (the names of the members have not yet been published). Saifuddin, the vice-chairman of the erstwhile provincial council, was elected chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, but at the end of the month he resigned and Burkhan, the former chairman was reelected chairman. The vice-chairmen included Kao Chin-shun, former vice-chairman, and two natives, a Uighur and a Kazakh.

The Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, formerly subordinated to the Northwest Bureau, was made independent and renamed the Sinkiang Committee, but the party officials remained unchanged. The first secretary was Wang En-mao, a native of Kiangsi who spoke none of the local languages, the second secretary was Kao Chin-shun, concurrently vice-chairman of the autonomous region, the third secretary was Chang Pang-ying. Only the fourth secretary, Saifuddin, was a native. These men had held their positions since 1949. Both the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and the Sinkiang party committee thus came directly under the control of Peking.

VIII. Prospects

175 The formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region
177 brings to a close an important phase in the political domination of
668 the Northwest by the Chinese Communists. By 1955, under the
intensive program of party expansion and the staffing of the governments by party men and by tried and tested cadres, the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai were already under effective Communist control. The United Front of the period of "New Democracy" came to an end with the transition of the country to socialism. The non-Communists in the government were cowed and eliminated. Those who survived the purges of 1952 were weeded out in the
[642] elections of 1953-54. The granting of autonomy to the Uighurs
and other minority peoples in Chinese Turkestan was to placate their discontent and to satisfy their yearning for self-rule, but it was rigged in such a manner as to make the domination of the Chinese Communists over Sinkiang and its ties with China Proper firmer and stronger than that accomplished by any governments in the past.

However, the efforts of the Chinese Communists to consolidate and centralize their control over the Northwest provinces are still impeded, internally, by the clash of interests within the ranks

175 of the Communist hierarchy and externally by popular resistance.
177 The temporary setback in the program of collectivization in
668 Shensi and Kansu in 1954 had been attributed to the hostility of the peasants and the ineptitude of the cadres. As late as March, 1954, it was revealed that "the cultural standard of the cadres was low; only one in every three cadres could read.... The work of political propaganda and education of the peasants in some areas has not been carried out well and penetratingly enough." (Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956). One of the main reasons for the inertia of the cadres and party members, said Chang Chung-liang, secretary of the Kansu Chinese Communist Party committee, was their fear of the new situation created by the transition from New Democracy to socialism, which has been added to their rightist ideology. (NCNA November 2, 1955).

175 Besides the fear of the future, another demoralizing factor was the unwillingness of the cadres and party members to leave
668 their positions in the governments and to work in the cooperatives
474 in the countryside, in defiance of the orders of their superiors.
578 As Wang En-mao, first secretary of the Sinkiang Chinese Communist Party sub-bureau, pointed out: "The largest defect during the past year was the failure on the part of party committees of all levels to resolutely, effectively, and properly transfer the leadership center to rural work in mutual aid and cooperation. Certain defects also exist in our work in the nationalities and religious fields." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 2, 1955).

175 The defects in nationality work were still charged to "the
668 vestiges of great nation chauvinism and local nationalism," caused by "the practice of usurpation by Han Chinese coming from other
563 parts of China," and their disrespect to the minority cadres, and
578 by the minority cadres who were "conceited, unwilling to study, refusing to observe discipline and doing things not according to policy and principle." (NCNA September 17, 1954.)

The incompetence and demoralization of the cadres and party members, who constitute the main working force of the Communists in the domination of the Northwest, and the discord and friction within their ranks went, pari passu, with the opposition of the people, to undermine the rule of the Chinese Communists. As in the past, popular opposition to the government was often carried on under the trappings of religion. In the Chinese inhabited areas of Shensi and Kansu, the Taoist secret society known as
[794] I-kuan-tao was still alive and active in the summer of 1955, and
[575] the farmers were required to sign pacts pledging to support the government in banning this sect.

175 Out in Sinkiang, pan-Islamism still gripped the mind of the
668 people who are predominantly Moslem. "Individual counter-revo-
669 lutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam," said Burkhan last
578 year, "and, putting on the cloak of religion, are carrying out
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PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY

I. Introduction

A. Historical Administration of Area

N

1. Ch'ing Dynasty

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During the Ch'ing dynasty, Shensi and Kansu were two of the eighteen provinces which formed China proper. The police system and the problems of public order and safety were similar to those of the other provinces. (See Section on Public Order and Safety in General Handbook.) However, in the Chinghai area, the maintenance of order was mainly entrusted to the native local chiefs.

•S 175 701 669

In Sinkiang, a network of military garrisons under the rule of Manchu military officers was established. Its main purpose was to suppress possible rebellions by the minority groups. The daily administration and maintenance of order among the minorities at the lower local level, however, here also rested with the minority chiefs and local leaders. The efficiency of this system is illustrated by the record of the riots. Periodically, at intervals of roughly thirty to fifty years, a major rebellion broke out. Numerous small riots occurred between the big conflicts.

N *175 625

As a whole, however, the Ch'ing dynasty's maintenance of public order in the northwest was considered to be successful.

2. Post 1911

When the revolution came in 1911, the situations varied in the different provinces, The weakness of the central government in Peking helped further the development of local forces. In Shensi, Kansu (and Ninghsia) and Ch'inghai, there were various warlords who occupied and dominated a certain portion of the land at various times. The purpore of the police forces under the warlords was to maintain their dominant position. Their police forces were efficient or less so, depending on the personalities of the leaders. Often they were backward and cruel, but usually they followed the traditional pattern of the Chinese bureaucracy. Most of the warlords adopted the "closed-door" policy. Outsiders, especially those viewed as potential trouble-makers, were not too free to travel around. This simplified police work since the local population was comparatively less educated and, except for the Moslems, more submissive than the outsiders.

S 175 625 [648] [563]

In Sinkiang, the situation was complicated by two factors. First, it was exposed to foreign agitation, particularly from Russia and Great Britain. Second, it had a mixed population with the Chinese in the minority. Therefore, the purpose and mission of the police forces in Sinkiang were traditionally difficult. Maintaining the leader's power involved dealing with foreign influences and with the various local peoples. These constant challenges made the police forces in Sinkiang more alert and efficient than in other

N
*175 "Under a call of the correct nationalities policy, Hsiang Ch'ien
*668 yielded to the people in Chiencha in the afternoon of July 11, and
669 arrived at Sining on July 31....
579 "The Chinghai Provincial People's Government has appointed
Hsiang Ch'ien to continue to hold the post of chieftain."

S 7. In an article entitled "The great achievements of People's
175 Sinkiang during the past three years", in Sinkiang jih-pao, January
668 1, 1953, Burhan, the governor of Sinkiang, gave the following report:
669 "During the past three years, (1949-1952)...we have wiped out
579 more than 20,000 of the remnant of the KMT bandits, basically
cleared out the hidden spies...."

8. In the same paper, in April of 1953 there appeared the
following:
N "(NCNA Lanchow April 6, 1953)...Northwest Regional Admin-
*175 istration Council called a meeting of the Kazakh chiefs along the
*563 border of Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang at Lanchow from March 23,
*668 to April 3, 1953.... The Kazakh chief A-t'ung-pai-k'e said: 'In
669 the past, being deceived by the bad people and believing in the
S rumors, we did not cooperate with the People's government. In-
175 stead of punishing us for our past faults, you are now helping us...'"

563 The above cases all clearly indicated political disturbances.
668 Judging by what has been revealed here, the Communists did try
669 to modify their laws and standards to woo the minority groups.
They also did use the minority people as their own agents to police
as well as to pacify the resisting minorities.

N 9. (NCNA Sian, February 28, 1955)
*175 "According to statistics of the people's procuratorates in 48
administrative districts, hsien, and municipalities, 3,500 cases
*668 were taken on in 1954."

625 10. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
694 "The Provincial Public Security Department has also dispatched
631 five work teams to various places and adopted a combined policy of
S carrying out penetrating detection, investigation and research to-
175 gether with the resettling of vagrants and the pronouncing of sen-
668 tences with great fanfare. According to incomplete data from
625 various localities during the past 11 months, 71.7% of the crimi-
694 nal cases have been brought to light. The data from the two spe-
631 cial districts of Tacheng (Chuguchak) and Altai, from the two mu-
nicipalities of Ining and Kuche as well as from Shache hsien reveal
that a total of 25 major criminal cases have been unearthed."

11. (Urumchi Sinkiang jih-pao, January 20, 1955)
S "Judging from the events that have taken place in our province
175 during the past year, there are still some habitual robbers, habit-
668 ual thieves and other criminal culprits who have not been disposed
674 of. Some elements who have gone through reform through labor or
who have been released on termination of sentences still refuse to
repent and continue to jeopardize social order. Some landlords

175 648 The Altai region has been an area of conflict all the more critical because of the potential value of its mineral resources. In imperial time some control had been exerted over part of the area by the Imperial Amban in Kobdo in Outer Mongolia. The border between Chinese and Russian territory was also not clearly delineated, and the Chinese claim that the highest mountain ridge formed the border being at times contested by Soviet Russia. The area was mainly inhabited by Kazakh tribesmen who were closely related to similar groups at the other side of the border in Russian Turkestan. During World War I a number of Kazakhs from the Russian side had moved over into Chinese territory to escape the draft for labor conscription, and no control had been [563] exerted over these groups. Of all the Turkic people of the province of Sinkiang, the Kazakhs were the most nationalistic and unruly. The attitude of the Kazakh people played, therefore, an important role in the relations between Russia and Chinese Turkestan.

At the critical time, in 1920, when the White Russian influx became a problem, the Chinese governor negotiated with the Soviet authorities an agreement which established friendly relations across the border but at the same time enabled the governor to deal successfully with the problem of White Russian immigrants. He gained a Soviet promise of amnesty for all those White Russians who wanted to return to Russian territory and encouraged as many as he could to go back to Russia, while others continued their journey to China proper. At the same time, he asked for Soviet support in removing the armed White Russians from the Altai region and strengthened the Chinese position in that area by dividing it into regular Chinese districts and sub-district administrations. Connected with this political agreement was a trade agreement in which the Ili valley area was opened to Soviet economic activities. Two soviet consulated were established in this area, in contrast to the seven consulates which the Czarist government had maintained in its last years in Sinkiang. In exchange for the Soviet consulated the Chinese administration was permitted to maintain two consulated in Soviet territory. These consulates were to be established at Semipalatinsk and at Verkhenevelinsk on the border of Outer Mongolia. The agreement also abolished extraterritoriality, and in opening economic relations with the Soviets, Governor Yang gained Soviet release of the property of Chinese merchants in Russian territory which had at first been confisfacted by the new Soviet regime. Through this agreement of 1920 Chinese-Soviet relations were established in Sinkiang long before the beginning of official relations between the government at Peking and the Soviet government and even before the arrangement of Soviet support to Sun Yat-sen at Canton. The agreement of 1920 was broadened by the Soviet-Chinese treaty of 1924, signed at Peking, which provided for the opening of additional Soviet

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh
in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of
the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold,
lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh
leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since
their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to
declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this
plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that
were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the
Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in
fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved
north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then
captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also
spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to
suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese
National Government, which by this time was reasserting its
authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih=chung to
Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These
negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet
Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The
agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the
reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor,
Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one
• [563] an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives
of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the
revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang
did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group
which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under
the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin.
The national government troops under Governor Chang did not
control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region,
including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tungsten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
648 diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt
[135] by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

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N III. Resentment of Chinese Rule

*563 These internal differences have made it impossible for the
578 people of the Northwest to cast off their Chinese rulers by united
action and to establish a Turkic, Uighur, or federated govern-
S ment of their own. In Sinkiang, 90 per cent of the population is
[162] non-Chinese, yet the forces of nationalism and of religion, which
at times made for a temporary unity, were not strong enough to
transform the sporadic revolts into a lasting revolutionary move-
ment and complete independence.

There always has been a great deal of friction between the Chinese and the non-Chinese as a result of the differences in cultural heritage. In addition, the Chinese form a ruling minority in many parts of the Northwest and appear to the native people as a foreign government of occupation. In this situation, the Chinese Moslems (the Dungans) have found themselves caught between two fires. At times they sided with their Kirghiz and Uighur co-religionists, and at other times they were compelled to support their non-Moslem Chinese compatriots. As a result, they have been distrusted by everyone and have suffered a double persecution during times of upheaval and nationalistic or religious fanaticism.

N The Chinese method of ruling minority peoples involved the
*175 system of "divide and rule" and created friction not only with China,
657 but also among the tribes themselves. The policies of Tso Tung-
*563 t'ang in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be taken as
578 an example. He managed to place great power in the hands of his
S own relatives and friends, and to strengthen the old social struc-
175 tures of the Mongols, Uighurs and Kazakhs through the existing
657 Begs and princes who became instruments of Chinese rule. He
• 563 considered the Chinese Moslems to be traitors and killed large
578 numbers of them while showing leniency toward the Uighurs, Mon-
gols and Kazakhs. After the Revolution of 1911, during the gov-
ernorship of Yang Tseng-hsin, the tradition of setting one people
against another was continued. Fearing that the Mongols of Sin-
kiang might unite with the Mongols of Outer Mongolia during the
revolution there, heavy restrictions were imposed upon them,
while the Kazakhs were even allowed to carry arms. Under the
previous Manchu rule, the Mongols were favored over the Kazakhs;
they were considered the rightful owners of pasture lands, while
the Kazakh tribes were treated as their "tenants."

S In the case of the Turkic Moslems, nationalism and religion
175 are almost inseparable. Their rebellions against the Chinese have
669 been the most persistent and the most violent, but only one short
648 period of freedom has broken two centuries of Chinese control.
Ever since 1759, when the Manchu general, Chao-hui, drove the
668 ruling Moslem Khojas into Khokand and extended Chinese rule into
Turkestan, the bitter resentment aroused by foreign control has
flared into periodic revolt. In the nineteenth century, while the

S 4. Cultural corps
668 In the army, cultural work corps promoted propaganda by means
708 of entertainment. In local dances and songs, the Cultural Work
208 Corps of the Fifth Army (originally the Sinkiang National Army)
545 in the summer of 1951 promoted the Party's Nationality policy and
the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement in Sinkiang. They
visited various villages and regularly attracted an audience of
S from three or four thousand to ten thousand people. The members
[563] included thirteen minority groups living in Sinkiang. Some of
[484] them went to Peking in 1953 and presented a performance of 21
[648] acts before the audience in the capital.

S The visit was returned by the Central Nationality Dancing
668 Corps of Peking which sent a performing team of 140-odd mem-
648 bers to Sinkiang in April, 1955 to celebrate the establishment
545 of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. It spent more than
half a year in Sinkiang and returned to Peking on November 13
after having visited ten special districts, three autonomous chou,
seven counties, two state farms, three mines in Sinkiang and two
cities (Lanchow and Su-chou) in Kansu. It performed 112 times
before audiences of various nationalities totalling more than
439,000 people.

N IV. The Methods of Propaganda.
*668 Besides those already mentioned, the Communists are using
208 many other methods of propaganda. Parading, signature drives,
circulation of pictures and pictorial stories, large-scale welcome
meetings for important personnel sent from Peking, lantern slides
and movies produced by the Party and the government, theater
activities such as opera, drama, dance, and concerts all have
been used as means of propaganda. The public accusation meet-
ing is another form. No matter what the main target of a partic-
ular accusation meeting may be, whether a landlord or the U.S.A.,
the accusation always carries out the propaganda of the day,
whether it be the Resist-America Aid-Korea movement or land
reform. Other kinds of meetings are equally useful. "Model
S Peasants Rallies," held in the main farming districts of Sinkiang
[668] are the place to promote propaganda for increasing production as
[208] well as for denouncing germ warfare.

N A. Festivals
*668 Festivals are always good opp;rtunities for promoting propa-
796 ganda. In Northwest China where most of the minority groups are
followers of the Moslem religion, the Islamic festivals are used
*[563] as a time to express the thoughtfulness of the Communist govern-
[771] ment. For instance, during their celebration of the three major
[651] Moslem festivals of the year, the butchery tax on beef and mutton
consumed by Mohammedan communities is exempted. Further-

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N **Yang Shen-chih: Local leader**
159 A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential
631 local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative
Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform
Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory
Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative
Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory
Commission.

S **Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang**
159 Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen
and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate
of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the
chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded
troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of
Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and
was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In
S 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu
[693] Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Circuit
and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912
[652] he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the
[635] newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his
way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang.
His title was changed several times, but his actual position
remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang
from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as
S the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of
[554] the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist
[635] Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman
of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the
159 only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was
635 credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and
prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he
S smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society),
[575] defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops
[648] of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs
who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified
the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into
S Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he
[563] adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes
[641] within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the
[648] trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But,
because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his
subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made
enemies who brought about his assassination.

361 Ansi, and our own exhilaration was shared by the
whole cavalcade. The tired mules shook their heads as
485 they smelt the cool verdure, while the carter explained:
312 'Now our troubles are all over! We have come to
sweet water!' Several of the inns were full, but we
finally got rooms in a seemingly abandoned courtyard.
The landlord was away from home, but a good deal of
knocking brought his wife from her bed, and she
consented to receive us. In a few minutes the sheep-dung
fire was glowing, the water boiling, and we were
drinking an ambrosial infusion-tea made with 'sweet
water.'

361 A good number of families inhabited this oasis[1], and
we were now sufficiently far from the Kansu frontier
494 for the normal conditions of travel and business to
312 obtain once more. The various inn yards were full of
peasants' carts bringing produce from Hami, and we
were also able to buy fresh vegetables and a melon.
We sat for several hours in the shade of the trees by the
bubbling spring, talking with the women who came
there to draw water. It was a restful spot, and it was
with regret that we left it. The next dawn brought us
361 to Hwanglukang—'The Hill of Yellow Reeds.' Here
133 the character of the country changed, the village being
231 situated in the midst of rolling steppes, where tall
grass supplied abundant provender for cattle. In this
place we saw the cattle all kneeling before tussocks of
coarse grass which they had worn down to smooth
hummocks with the rubbing of their necks. The appearance
was very strange and gave the impression
of an act of worship. In the afternoon we wandered
794 out to see the village and its inhabitants, calling at the
Mosque, where we found a venerable Ahung—courteous,
dignified and friendly—surrounded by a group of little
• 563 boys, to whom he was teaching the Koran. They were

1[Changliushui --Analyst

the sons of the Turki families in the neighbourhood, but 563
the innkeepers were still mostly Chinese.

It was here[1] that we experienced the one serious 262
mishap of our journey. One of the carters had volunteered 137
to cook the dinner, and having espied round
the well-mouth a thick growth of toadstools, privately
decided to flavour the *mien* with them. Luckily
for us the experiment, from a culinary point of view,
was a failure. The gravy in which the macaroni floated
was grey, slimy, and carried globules of oil on its surface,
being besides nauseous to the taste. In consequence
we ate but little, and one of the party finding a fragment
of what she took to be a mushroom in her bowl, removed
it with her chopsticks and cast it on to the rubbish
heap which lay in a corner of the room. Another, less
wise, ate her portion without question, and an hour
later was taken exceedingly ill, so that for some hours
we wondered how things would go with her. By
evening, however, the symptoms abated, and she
gradually recovered. Others of the party were also
affected, but less seriously.

It was consequently with a renewed sense of gratitude 361
to Almighty God that we moved on to Yükoshu—' The 485
Elms '—where by the side of the village pond we found
a spacious and empty inn, clean and comfortable, where 133
a quiet night did wonders in restoring strength. We
were now only seventeen miles from the town of Hami,
and next morning we started early, all excitement at
the thought of being soon in that ancient and renowned
city. We travelled first over an undulating grassy
plain, and later on through a belt of sand. We had 000
only gone two miles when we saw the Chinese Evangelist,
who had gone on ahead, galloping back towards
us and riding a strange horse. To our amazement he
brought the news that Mr. Hunter (whom we believed

[1] [changliushui--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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291 faces were not veiled, and they seemed to have considerable freedom. The flowing, white drapery adds greatly to the beauty of these tall, dark, handsome creatures, and affords full play for coquettish movements and tantalising concealment when once curiosity [302] has been aroused. In the younger women a thick line of black joined the eyebrows over the bridge of the nose, and the face was framed by two long, shining plaits hanging over the breast. The feet were bare, and when indoors were thrust into a heel-less slipper, but when walking out of doors top-boots were usually worn, and sometimes blue velvet socks embroidered with sequins. The whole dress is finished off with a round, brimless cap, which worn over the veil keeps it in place. Hami has its own peculiar style, shape and decoration of the cap, and the initiated can distinguish it in a moment from the designs used in other cities.

574 Ever since the name of Hami has been known to the European nations, it has carried with it the report of the extraordinary hospitality of its people, and at the present day travellers may still count upon a friendly reception by its inhabitants. This is doubtless due in part to its peculiar geographical position, which might be compared with that of a lonely island in a wide sea, only that here the oasis is an island of green in the ocean of sand. The produce of this terraced and well-watered region is more than sufficient to supply its own population, and its parks, its streams and flowers, as well as the abundance of its vegetables and fruits, amply justified the name of the 'earthly paradise,' by which it had been described to us in Suchow.

● 563
463
366 The streets and bazaars fascinated us. Here were gathered men from all parts of Asia, mixing freely in the crowded thoroughfares, yet curiously segregated as to their respective trades and lines of commerce.

All the market-gardeners were Chihli men, and spoke 366
of themselves as coming from Tientsin ; the banks 463
and money-shops were in the hands of Shansi people ; 563
coppersmiths and travelling pedlars were from Honan ; and the riveter of broken china was always ready to speak of his distant Szchuan home. Even in the quality of the goods sold the racial divisions were precise. Finely-woven cottons, silks, and the more delicate materials were handled exclusively by the Chinese, but the gorgeous and barbaric striped cottons, carpets, rugs, saddle-bags and all woollen goods were sold by the Turki. The Chantow showed a most attractive *étalage* of golden-crusted breadstuffs, by the side of which the anaemic steamed roll of the Chinese presented no attraction. The fruit and vegetables, though grown by the Chinese, were sold in Turki shops, whose stalls were filled with carrots, egg-plant, and several varieties of French beans, including one in which the pod was over a foot long and circular in
shape. Vegetable marrows were in such profusion as 244
to warrant an old name for Hami—' The Oasis of the Gourd.' Onions, juicy green peppers as large as oranges, celery, lettuce and cucumbers were in profusion, but peas and broad beans were not grown by the Tientsin market-gardeners, they were sown in the fields by the Chantow farmer, and viewed not as vegetables for the board of the epicure but as fodder for animals.

The season was too early for much fruit, but a small apple was procurable, and the first ripe melons were in the market. The best quality of melon known in Turkestan bears the name of ' Hami,' and is a large fruit of the netted order, the flesh being firm and sometimes white, but more frequently orange-tinted, and of superb flavour. The water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*)

175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

[179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as ' idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the ' Key of Dzungaria '—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

• 563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned
[647] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

conditions of life in a new country, and though living 563 in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their [142] features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems [771] in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the [241] agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a 197 language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

> 'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
> Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern 563 road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the [221] nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

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[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

563 but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem [291] nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinctive cap and high heels to his top-boots. We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper is a Russian subject, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. [291] The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large [779] number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was 563
with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders.

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held 175
supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth 797
century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all 779
barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other

133 birds had made their nests. This was the most striking
132 example of wind erosion that we saw.

This last stage had been taken in company with Mr.
494 Hunter, whose little cart frequently made better stages than our heavy vehicles could manage. At this point
491 we were all needing small repairs to our carts, and also the stony roads had become very heavy on the shoes of our teams, but Mr. Hunter now produced a travelling farrier's outfit, and with the help of his man shod the mules, greatly to the admiration of the Chinese bystanders, who commented freely on the resourcefulness of this experienced traveller. Mr. Hunter's man was a
•563 Mongolian youth, called 'Nimga.' The Living Buddha, to whom he was subject, had given him as an orphan boy to the missionaries. He always slept where he could watch the horses, and on one occasion, when he felt certain that horse-stealers were prowling around, lay down on a horse's back and slept there. His horsemanship was splendid, accustomed as he was to riding from infancy.

609 The Turki innkeeper, a tall, lean, bearded Moslem, looked with some suspicion at this party of foreigners. 'What have they come for?' he asked Mr. Hunter. 'Is it bones, plants or game that they want?' 'Nothing of the kind,' was the answer, 'these are missionaries.'

'Oh, that's different,' he grunted, 'but some of those who come, why there's no knowing what they want! There was a man here once upon a time, and his servant told me that he came to Chekulu in order to measure the distance to the sun! A likely tale! Couldn't he measure it in his own country? Surely you can *sometimes* see the sun in Western lands?'

491 For four hours that evening we descended a smooth,
139 downhill road, and on reaching the plain entered a sandy basin about twenty miles across, the lower part

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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361 669 the route taken by the hordes of the Tungan rebels, as they marched from South Kansu to Turkestan, mercilessly exterminating the Chinese population, razing their villages to the ground, and carrying off many of the women and boys as trophies of war.

485 Leaving the little '*hsien*' city of Fukang—'The Mound of Peace'—we realised with delight that only one more night in an inn lay between us and the Mission Compound in Urumchi, where we should find a bed, sheets, bathing facilities in the place of the small tin basin which we carried, and the possibilities of getting our clothes washed. At Kumuti—'Ancient Pastures' we were but twenty miles from the city, but when it was suggested that we should only take a brief rest and then press on, we felt that we simply could not do it. ● [563] The best room in the inn was occupied by a Nogai gentleman, whom we had met two years previously in Ansi. Unfamiliar as we were then with Asian tribes, we had mistaken him for a pure Russian, and therefore had been much puzzled when he told us that he was a Moslem. His horse was ready saddled, as he was leaving for the capital, which he could reach by nightfall, and he was glad to be the first to announce our whereabouts. The name of Kumuti, meaning 'Ancient Pastures' indicates that in olden days the flocks and herds of the Uigur chiefs were grazed in this place.

000 Dawn saw us again on the road, thrilled at the prospect of so soon seeing the great capital of Sinkiang, on which our thoughts has so often centred as we pictured the base from which Mr. Hunter and Mr. Mather had carried on their missionary operations for so many years. Mr. Mather had now been in China for sixteen years without taking any furlough, and considerable pressure had been brought to bear upon him to return for a short period to England. This,

439 Russia which provides it with manufactured goods, and its own most noted product is sulphur.

363 The streets of Urumchi present a mass of low, formless, utilitarian buildings, covering a large area. The 344 Governor's Yamen, which occupies a large enclosure, contains spacious courtyards dominated by a high tower, from which the surrounding country can be surveyed. Second in importance to the Government buildings is the new Post Office, constructed with a view to dealing with large quantities of mail material. 205 The postal system is excellently controlled, and for many years the position of Postal Commissioner has been held by a Westerner, who, at the time of our visit, was an Italian. Thanks to energetic organisation, the enforcement of a time limit on the couriers, and the careful division of the road into well-regulated stages, Urumchi is brought within forty-five days of Peking—a truly marvellous accomplishment. The direct postal communication with Europe via Chuguchak, Semipalatinsk, and Omsk was suspended during the war, but is now once more available, by which means letters 206 can reach London in twenty-eight days. There is a wireless installation in daily communication with Kashgar, but this is under the strict supervision of the 471 Governor. The Russo-Asiatic Bank formerly had a branch office here, and a few Western firms have opened agencies through which they now carry on business.

563 The stream of *emigrés* who left Russia at the time of 361 the Revolution, have had an important bearing on the development of Urumchi, which has resulted in the formation of a Russian quarter. Here the impoverished [648] refugee, the Nogai, and the Sart live side by side, and of recent years the Soviet Government has appointed a Consul General to guard their interests. Permission to erect a statue of Lenin in the Consular grounds has been

563 refused by the Chinese authorities, as also a suggestion
that the building of the Russian Orthodox Church
361 should be turned into a theatre. In the shops of this
quarter there may be bought Russian bread, cakes and
biscuits ; also Russian boots, foreign cloth and galvanised
pails and buckets of all kinds.

366 In another part of the town are streets of good
Chinese shops, and here every variety of tinned food
can be purchased, at prices which amply compensate
the merchant for his trouble in the transit. The
563 Urumchi crowd presents special features which to us
492 were of absorbing interest. We were in a country
where horsemanship is highly valued. The Mongol,
Tibetan, Qazaq and Tungan are all splendid riders,
though each has his own unmistakable style of handling
a horse, and his own way of controlling it. The
Russians and Siberians use Russian horses—fine-skinned,
tall, and elegant—in contrast with the rough,
shaggy Mongol pony, or the half tamed steed of the
Tungan, who loves to gallop down the narrow streets,
563 scattering the populace as he goes. It was now that
291 we became familiar with the Qazaq—a broad-shouldered
man, whose burly build is exaggerated by the wadded or
492 fur garments he wears both summer and winter alike.
His home-made, high-heeled, tall leather boots were
different in cut from those of the Mongolian, and his
head-gear is a high-pointed cap, with a circular flap
over each ear and on the shoulders. He was often seen
riding a bullock, whose enormous flanks were surmounted
by a small, wooden saddle, held in place by a
563 wide girth. When shopping he seldom dismounted,
but conducted his bargaining from his seat, and though
437 he might know nothing of the Chinese language, the
price was fixed by means of movements of the fingers,
the buyer and seller each introducing his hand up the
other's sleeve.

3;Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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A missionary journey does not supply many entertainments of the kind usually connected with the music-hall stage, but in this village there was a strange-looking man, wearing a Cossack cap of shaggy, black sheepskin, whose eyes danced with irresistible merriment. Our attention was drawn to this remarkable creature, who was sitting crouched in a corner of the courtyard, when all of a sudden the sound of a dogfight came from that direction. It was quite unmistakable—a big Tibetan dog was attacking a little, sharp-voiced Pekinese, such as the ' tai tai ' loves to pet. We turned to see what was happening, but there were no dogs, and the sudden silence was broken by peals of laughter at our amazement. A moment later a flock of sheep and lambs were heard bleating and baaing, through every tone of the gamut. Then, most surprising of all, as the sound of the sheep ceased, a gramophone struck up a strident song in Russian, and this was followed by a visit to a poultry yard, the theatre, and other amazing ventriloquist feats. This clever performer subsequently told us that as a youth from a Shantung village he had placed himself for three years under the tuition of a renowned ventriloquist, who had trained him in the art of both hearing and reproducing sounds. The entertainment was really of the first order, far surpassing any Western performance to which we have listened, and most surprising of all, was the fact that without knowing Russian he was yet able to reproduce its sounds as conveyed through the gramophone. 000

We rose at 2.15 the next morning for the day's journey of seventy miles, and after a six hours' drive we saw a small, ragged tent pitched near the roadside at the back of which three camels were grazing. A woman stood by the tent door watching the road for passers-by. Her attitude and bearing showed her to 563

563 be a Qazaq. She wore a printed cotton gown to her
ankles, and over it a striped coat, cut with an old-
291 fashioned waistline, and down the back seam the stripes
met in fishbone pattern, while her head and face were
swathed in the nunlike headgear worn by all Qazaq
563 women. A call from our driver brought an acquiescing
response from her, and he drew up as she now moved
372 toward the great mound of drying cow-dung, which is
354 the inevitable adjunct to the Qazaq home. Her fireplace
was of the simplest, a deep hole hollowed in the
ground, and three iron rods and a hook, from which a
kettle hung. She dexterously placed the cakes of cow
dung on the embers, and blowing on them, in a short
time there was a glowing fire and a singing kettle. One
of her children was seen carrying water from the spring,
while the other was collecting fuel, but both now came
167 running to see us. Accepting her invitation we
574 entered the tent, and here found her husband, a Honan
man, lying down with the hateful opium pipe by his
733 side. Nevertheless, with the manners of a gentleman,
he at once rose, spread a carpet for us, and with a
gesture placed his pipe at our disposal, but adding as he
did so: 'You have none of these bad habits in your
country.' We sat and talked with this intelligent man,
who for some unknown reason had left China, wandered
across the desert, and thrown in his lot with the Qazaq
people, taking one of their women to be his wife
and the mother of his children. Another of these enigmatic
people gathered in this strangest of countries,
where a man's past is known only to himself, to be
buried and forgotten.

494 While we were talking Sandy Macnab was working.
Producing a length of cotton material, of suitable size
and shape to fit between the shafts of his cart, he proceeded
to fasten it so as to form a feeding trough, in

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which he mixed the fodder for his horses, for these fine animals could only cover the long stages required of them by dint of great care and good feeding. This he gave them, and their good condition was a daily satisfaction to us. The friendliness between our driver and ourselves was becoming so warm that on an occasion such as this he was not only willing to borrow the teapot but the tea also! After an hour's rest we moved on, and by the late afternoon passed a lonely enclosure occupied by two Turki. The high hills around we knew to be the shelter of reckless robber-bands, and Mr. Hunter had firmly declared that we must at all costs push on to Kweitun by nightfall; Sandy, however, was differently disposed, and before he could be stopped he drove his team into the enclosure, and untied the circus hoop. We as a party, however, absolutely refused to dismount, and finally Nimga turned the horses' heads and led them out of the courtyard, when the stubborn Macnab was compelled to follow. For the next few hours he sang for our benefit sundry weird chants which, sounding as they did, so much like imprecatory liturgies, caused us to ask him what he was singing. 'Singing to Huda (God)' was his reply, and we knew that our surmise was correct—he was calling down vengeance on this party of Gentiles. 494

After a night in Yamatu we left on another forty-seven mile stage. The road at first was up and down hill, like a switchback, and as the long body of the tarantass makes it quite unsuited to sharp bends, we walked over the more dangerous parts. This proceeding greatly annoyed Macnab, but later on when we met a party whose faces were cut and bleeding from a spill, he had to admit that we were in the right. At midday we halted by another Qazaq tent. As soon as the owners sighted us they came forward to ask if any [491] 563 ● 294

● 563 member of the party knew how to mend a sewing
294 machine. It seemed they had bought one from some destitute Russians, and now something had gone wrong, and they could make no further use of it.

One of the party (who is known to her fellow-travellers as a walking encyclopedia and an emporium of general knowledge), undertook to do what was necessary, and she was soon seated on a pile of rugs in the tent surrounded by a group of wondering nomads, as she skilfully made the needful repairs. Asking for some cotton she was given a small roll of cardboard, on which had been wound some coarsely-twisted skein thread. They had no other, but when we produced a reel of good English cotton and threaded it to the machine, the
563 delight of the whole family knew no bounds. While
231 this operation was in progress Mr. Hunter came into the tent, and the fierce dog, always on guard, fastened its teeth into his trouser leg. We learnt then that the only safe way to enter a nomad's tent is backwards, keeping a sharp lookout for the watchdog, who can never be caught napping!

491 We spent the next night at Toli, and on leaving reached our maximum day's stage of one hundred miles. We got off at 5 a.m. and made good progress for the first hundred *li* to Laofengkow. On the way we met a band of Chinese, travelling back to Urumchi from Siberia, with a large supply of opium, which they had sown and reaped within Russian territory. After a brief rest we were on the road again for the second hundred *li* of our day's journey. We did so well that in a weak moment we gave way to Macnab's obstinate determination to keep in, over a lonely Gobi road, with another party of travellers, consisting of a Nogai gentleman and two charming
000 little boys, on their way to Moscow. It was late after-

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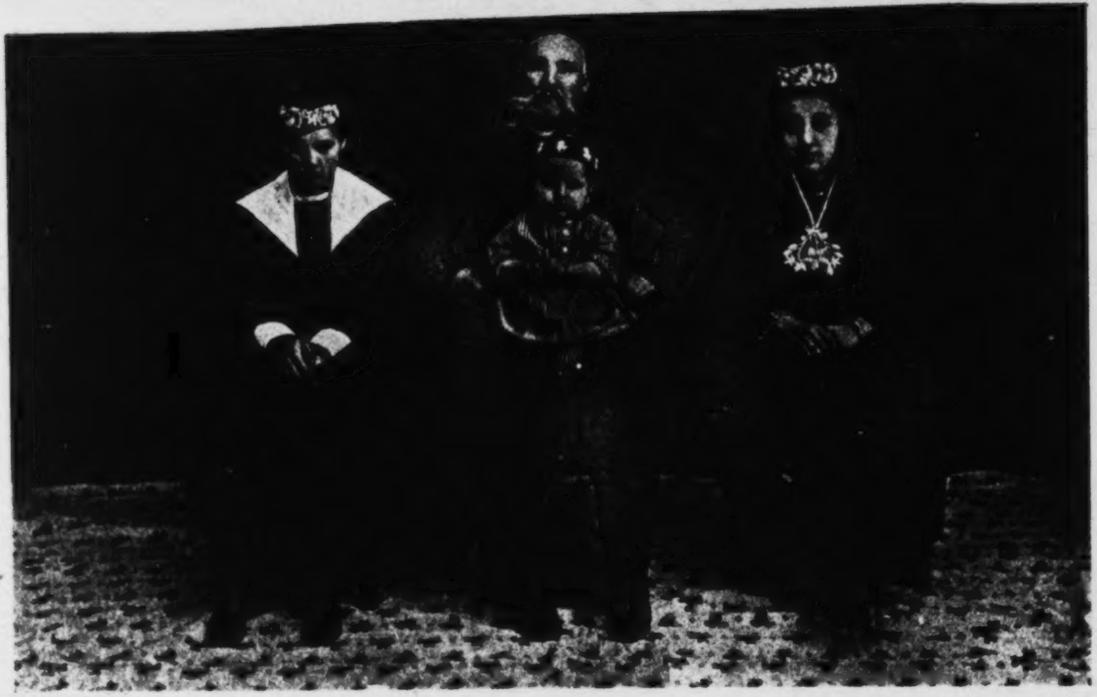
[Facing p. 266]



A NOGAI.

Seated with a Turki wife on his left and a Qazaq wife on his right. The Turki woman is mother of the little boy.

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